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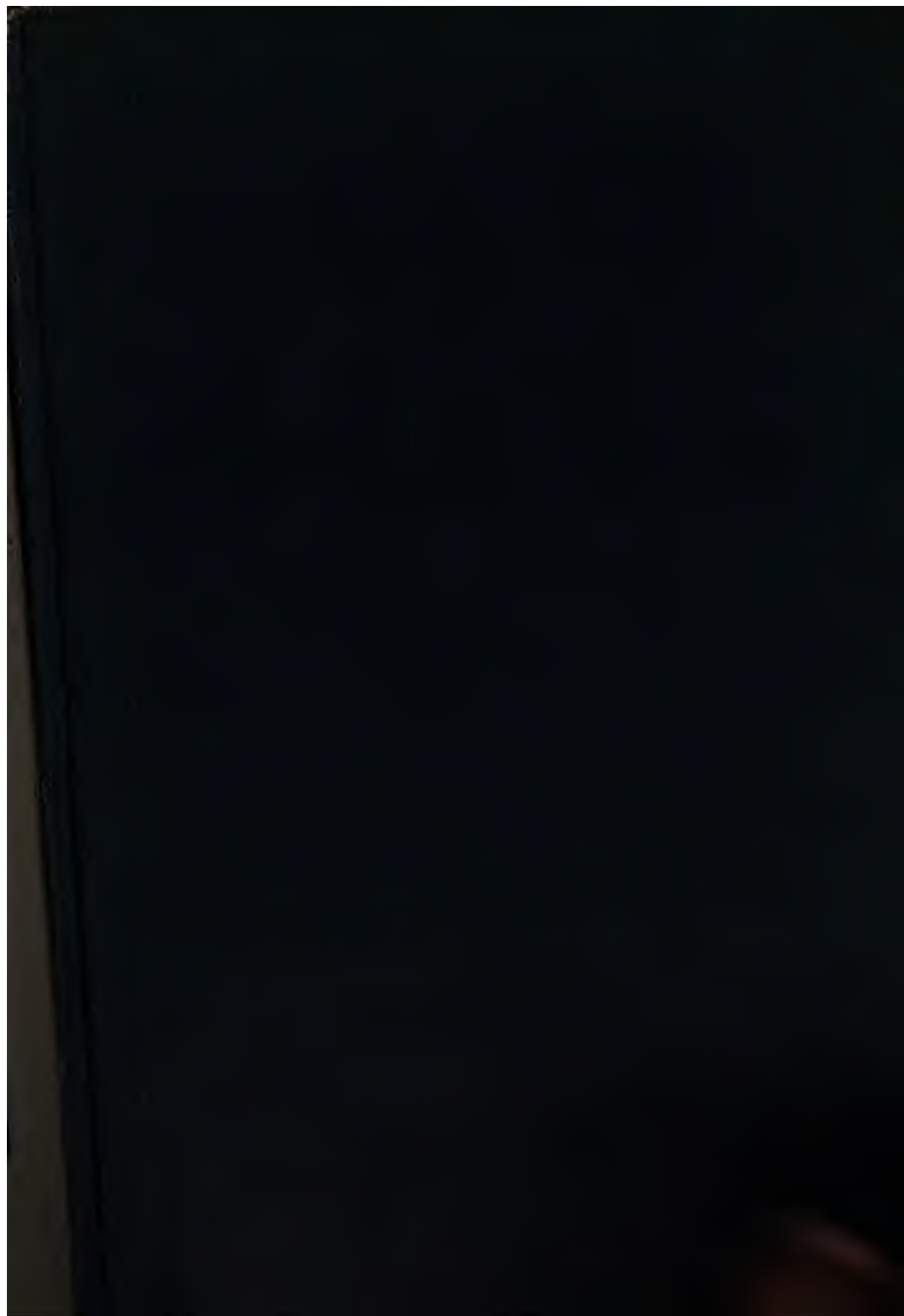
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Sermons and Addresses

By

Stephen S. Wise

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Contents.

	PAGE
I. <i>Parent and Child</i>	1
II. <i>The Social Message of the Hebrew Prophets</i>	25
III. <i>Teacher and Child</i>	48
IV. <i>David Einhorn and Samuel Adler—A Centenary Address.</i> EMIL G. HIRSCH.....	65
V. <i>The Moral Power of the Press</i>	87
VI-VII. <i>The Mystic Element in Religion.</i>	
CLAUDE G. MONTEFIORE	103
VIII-IX. <i>Third Anniversary Celebration</i> { CHARLES E. HUGHES JACOB H. SCHIFF NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER ABRAM I. ELKUS }	119
X. <i>Two American Centenaries</i> { THEODORE PARKER } ...	139
ELIHU BURRITT }	
XI. <i>Union Meeting of Synagogue and Church</i>	155
XII. { <i>A Program of Social Reform for a Democracy</i>	171
{ <i>The Safety of the Workers</i>	182



Parent and Child

Parent and child,—the questions involved in this relation and its adjustment are really fundamental to all other questions. For all life's phases are affected by the relation of parent and child, which constitutes the home, and these in turn affect and influence it. No problem, however vast or remote, is unrelated to it. Unless this be right, nothing is right; if it be right, everything else may be right.

Blessing or curse the home must prove not only to its makers or unmakers but to all. If it be true, as Emerson says, that the boundaries of personal influence it is impossible to fix, as persons are organs of moral or supernatural force, does not the same limitation hold peculiarly true with respect to the family influence? Whatever else the influences affecting the life of the normal individual, the largest measure of determining environment is concentrated in his own home. One may escape the influence of an individual, impervious to its evil and untouched by its good, but the atmosphere of the family home is inescapable because all-pervasive.

The relation of parent and child might be summed up in the title,—a study in responsibility,—for responsibility is the keynote to the whole problem, that highly developed sense of responsibility which moves parents seriously to

ponder upon the question of child training, and to remember that in the last analysis, while precept may be of some value, parental example is the supreme factor in the working out of the problem. This sense of responsibility can be based on nothing less than an appreciation of the magnitude, yea, the grandeur of the task of influencing for good or evil the destinies of a child,—the privilege of shaping in any degree an immortal soul.

To the discharge of that task a sense of personal responsibility demands that parents shall give as much care and toil as to the safeguarding of their material interests, to labor not more diligently to enhance their temporal fortunes than to further the eternal souls entrusted to them. Nor are parents free to reject or accept responsibility. Theirs is no liberty of choice. They are parents. The choice of parenthood has fixed the choice of parental responsibility. If parents were only the authors of the lives of their children, such begetting would in itself establish a deep and solemn parental responsibility. But parents are more than the progenitors of their children. In addition they live with their children as a rule during the years of infancy, childhood and youth. During the years of plasticity and impressionableness, parents are the chief formative influence upon the life of a child. Employing the terms of science, parents are for the most part not only heredity but environment, not only their children's past but their everpresent neighbors and comrades.

The continuity of the stream of influence, which takes its rise in parental environment and pours itself into the life of a child, has been powerfully suggested by Walt Whitman, who tells us that his parents not merely poured him into the world:

“They gave this child more of themselves than that,
They gave him afterward every day, they became part
of him.”

It has happened that I have found parents fearful of the influence which non-parental environment might exert upon a son and eager to shield him from its contaminating touch and I, in turn, have wished that it might be possible to rescue the child from the environment of the over-solicitous home. Parents sometimes dread the environment of the street for a boy, who is never in greater peril than when he is exposed to the environment of his own home. What quickening of responsibility ought arise from the consciousness of the inevitableness of ceaselessly molding the life of a child!

Precedent to the possibility of training children must come the training of parents, a training, which, it may be said in passing, must be achieved chiefly through self-discipline. The father is not to be solely the breadwinner, nor the mother the homekeeper, but both together are above all to be the guardians and educators of their children. The phrasing, parent and child, seems to conform to the widely cherished notion that children have but one parent, as if children had only mothers and no fathers. One of the worst incidents of the present industrial system is that the overworked father can at best be little more than a breadwinner, and the mother exclusively the household drudge with neither time nor strength nor grace nor will for aught besides. Nor is the home more happily circumstanced at the other end of the scale in which the father is not even a hard-working breadwinner but the idle inheritor of the fruit of others' toil, and the mother a more or less impersonal and vicarious administratrix of an establishment instead of the nurturing and sustaining mother.

Before all eugenics, for without it eugenics cannot be, must come the training of men and women for parenthood. The measure of preparation for parenthood in our day seems in inverse proportion to its paramountcy. One reads of preparations for tennis tournaments and golf matches and baseball games and football contests and rowing regattas, which are speedily becoming alike the classics and the humanities of American colleges, but what college or university even hints at the need of the conscious shaping of one's whole life for fatherhood and motherhood? The cursory reading of Spencer on Education is not a wholly adequate preparation for the supreme responsibility of parenthood. Spencer himself has told us that some future archaeologist, coming upon the remains of our civilization, will be prompted to ask whether ours was not a race of bachelors and maidens, seeing that our educational system appeared to be "a curriculum for celibates," "the school course of one of the monastic orders."

We are ashamed to speak of preparation for parenthood to the unwedded as if there were pollution for our sweet and unsophisticated youth in any reference to life's holy of holies, with the result that marriage may yet come to be thought of as legalized sexuality. Defiling and damning is that conception of life, which, by reason of fancied modesty, forbears to remind youth and maiden with becoming earnestness that they are not only the keepers of their own lives but the guardians of generations by them to be begotten. The attainment of puberty and the acquirement of property are not the only prerequisites of marriage, nor would these be, even if marriage were not the gateway of parenthood. But seeing that marriage means parenthood, poor and empty is that education, which does not kindle the souls of our

youth with a sense of high and ardent hope touching the elevating joys and ennobling responsibility of parenthood and home-building.

In this as in other phases of education, we invert the fitting order of things. We hope for the training of children by parents who have been left to evolve such a system of training out of their inner consciousness. Instead of shaping every phase or branch of education toward the end of home-building, this, life's largest purpose, is left wholly out of view in every educational system. What ought to be the one object of education is left to shift and scramble for itself amid the multiplicity of subjects taught. This is what is meant in part by those who urge that the training of a child be begun one hundred years before its birth. The training of children is begun hopelessly late unless it has been preceded by the wise training of potential parents, and unless such discipline be followed by the conduct of those who, heeding the counsel of a true educator, "carry on their higher education at the same time that they are educating their children."

Nothing is more needed than to seek to make clear to parents that their responsibilities cannot be shifted from the home to the school. A survival of the old pieties moves us to expect miracles of service from the school. It is not exactly a heartening symptom of democracy to note that parents are so often willing to suffer themselves to be superseded by the school as directing agents of the life of to-morrow instead of viewing the school as at best an efficient adjunct of the home. Happily the rule will not work,—the less done by the home the more by the school, but rather the reverse, namely, the measure of efficiency in the school is in almost exact proportion to the self-sufficingness of the home. Fondly foolish the par-

ents who imagine that the school can repair the deficiencies of the home in the training of children. The office of the school is very different from that of the home. The home may be a school, but the school can never be a home. The parent may do the work of a teacher, but the teacher cannot fulfill the office of a parent. While there are a multitude of schools, the home is *the* school and something more. If our educational system has broken down, it has been in part because the home has sought to disburden itself of the tasks rightly devolving upon it, and to burden these upon the overweighted shoulders of the teacher. School and home must not strive to shift upon each other but to share with each other the task of child-rearing and State-upbuilding. Home and school must be constant co-operators,—the home the preparatory department of the school, the school the outdoor branch of the home. But it must never be forgotten that it is the home and not the school that must be the centre of the life of the child. Mine is no mean or belittling conception of the school, and I can never bring myself to assent to the thought that the school exists solely to impart knowledge, but it is certain that it is the home, which must help the child to *be*. That is the unique office of the home.

Parents are not only the givers of life, they must help the children of their begetting to the rebirth unto the life of the spirit, which alone is life. The school may serve as auxiliary to the home in helping the child to such renewal of life, but the home must be the scene and stimulus of such transfiguration. Is it not this circumstance, that solves the mystery which many affect to find in the growth in intellectual stature of a man like Abraham Lincoln, who never enjoyed more than a year of schooling. But we forget that he was mothered by his own

mother, not smothered by a hireling governess or tutor. True, the value of such mothering presupposes a mother worth while. How poor are the children of parents, whose wealth entitles them, as they conceive it, to surrender their children to governesses and tutors—the only right which these children are denied being the right to be mothered.

Not long ago I stood at the grave of John Brown in converse with one, who as a youth had served in the Brown household, among the hills that were not high enough to shut out from the gaze of the master the sight of blood-stained sin a thousand miles away,—because his eyes were fixed upon the eternal stars. When I made inquiry concerning the schooling of John Brown's children, the youth in the household of half a century ago, touched to nobleness of thought and speech by the surging memories of that better day, declared: The children had little schooling, but John Brown and his wife trained them to hate the wrong and to do the right.

Reverting for a moment to Abraham Lincoln, one may almost say that no school was suffered to stay or to stem the tide of influence, which flowed directly from the great mother-soul into the life of her child. In a sense, the school is an artificial substitute for a phase of parental activity, which is falling into abeyance because of the highly specialized character of modern life. Happy the child, whose parents are jealous of the encroachments of the school upon their rightful functioning and reluctantly relinquish to it any part of their own tasks and burdens! For one Humphrey Davy who invents a Michael Faraday, there are ten thousand parents who, borrowing Davy's telling phrase, invent noble sons and daughters.

The teacher at best can do little more than complete the task inaugurated by the parent. And the parent, in addition to being environment and heredity, is granted the unique opportunity of inspiring a child not only by high teaching but by highest example, not only by noble precept but by noblest practice. The teacher teaches and his work is done. The parent's work is never done, for the parent is ever-present with the child and the mask which may be worn for the world without is pierced by the clear vision of the childish seer. In the home it is even truer than in the pulpit that what we say matters little by the side of what we are. We may say much and it is nothing, but the minutest act of the parental life is everything to the child. This is at one and the same time the peculiar difficulty of the parent and not less truly his unique opportunity. Books, teachers, traveling, experience, life do much for one, but most is done for good or ill by the home. This deep truth it is, that moves Theodore Parker to observe that whenever great and good things are done by man or woman, the fountain of virtue and strength is to be found close to the heart of some noble woman. The contagion of parental example is well-nigh irresistible. It is a high tribute, but not too high, which Ibsen's Master Builder, Halvard Solness, pays his wife Aline, and it is the glory of motherhood that potentially every woman may be a master builder, "for building not houses and towers and spires, not such things as I work at,—for building up children's souls in perfect balance and in noble and beautiful forms, for enabling them to soar up into erect and full-grown human souls."

It is the parent that must be the master builder. When the child life is not built up into something worthy,

it is the parent-builder to whom the blame may oft justly be imputed. Not that the unworthy child is necessarily sprung from unworthy parents, but not unseldom from parents worthy in themselves but sadly unwise and fatally weak in bringing up their children. The more deeply one delves into the lives of the great and the good whom history pauses to commemorate, the firmer becomes the conviction that back of the lives of most solid worth and noblest tone lies the stimulus of wise parental guidance and the compulsion of lofty parental example.

Garrison the liberator is best understood in the light of his mother's letter written to her youthful son after a period of grave illness: "I have been nursed back to life and health by one, who is a slave in the eyes of man but a freeborn soul in the sight of God." Emerson puts into a simple line "Right thou feelest, rush to do" the lofty counsel, "Always do what you are afraid to do," which his aunt, Mary Moody, had sought to weave into the very fibre of his being. Pestalozzi walks about the street with his uncle as he distributes alms to the poor and passionately resolves to fight for the poor and the oppressed. It is not always the parents, who render this supreme service and to whom may be traced the stream of beneficent influence which fructifies and blesses the life of the child. Ofttimes it is one who stands in the parental relation, an elder sister to Renan, an aunt to Emerson, a grandmother to Millet. Not every father has the great good fortune to be memorialized by the prose poem of Carlyle's acknowledgment of indebtedness, but happily for the race there are innumerable fathers worthy of such tender panegyric though there be but few children who can offer it with such consecrated eloquence. It is not given to every mother to be immortalized by the ardent testimony of a Lincoln or a Garibaldi, but, happily again for the

children of men, if every man or woman, the bases of whose character have been firmly laid by a loving, benign mother, commanded the resources of grateful recognition, we might have a myriad pæans of praise no less fervid and no less deserved.

The whole duty of parents is to provide a *home* for their children. The home is not an impersonal, lifeless, external thing, made of wood and stone, but a personal, living, inward creation wrought by parent and child. If but mothers and fathers would come to understand that they alone at their best can be the makers of a home, that the home can be planned by nothing less than disciplined intelligence, and fashioned by noble purpose and sustained by unwearied zeal, and equipped with lofty ideals! A home is built not by what parents *have* but by what they *are*. Having oft undoes and destroys homes. Being builds homes. All of earth's millions will not suffice to build a home, unless the possessors have something more than millions, that indefinable something of the spirit which is the indispensable element in home-building.

One may order a house of an architect and its interior arrangements and equipment from a decorator but homes happily cannot be made to order. One knows of people, who are rich enough to own a dozen houses and withal too poor to possess a single home. Far from money in and of itself making a home, wealth often un-makes the home which was wrought in the sweat of toil and the tears of sorrow. Nor let parents flatter themselves that their wealth can make their home precious to their children, assuming that theirs be such a laudable purpose. A priceless house is a very different thing from a precious home. Contents make a house; content, however accented, makes a home. Are the rich more ten-

derly loved by their children than the parents of the poor? Or is the remembrance of those who bequeath fortunes to their children more lovingly cherished than the memory of a father or mother who leaves to children nothing that the State can tax but what withal is prized by them beyond earthly computation?

Lately I visited a home built sixty years ago in the mountains of New York. Father, mother, children dwelt there and lived in poor and scanty fashion and yet that hovel bred noble sons and daughters because it was a home, because father and mother lived for high things and imbued the children with their own lofty ideals and holy purposes. Children are the product of homes not houses. If we would have noble sons and high-souled daughters, we must seek to create a home wherein may flourish the strength of manhood and the nobleness of womanhood. It was a land of such homes that moved Burns to sing:

From scenes like these old Scotia's grandeur springs,
That makes her loved at home, revered abroad.

Woe betide the people which belittles its homes! Happy the people which magnifies its homes! Homes are not of set purpose minimized, but unless they be consciously and purposely magnified, minimized they will become. Belittled and dishonored is the home which is conceived by parents to be a place wherein children are to be housed and fed and clothed and amused and nothing more. Much to be pitied are children whose parents provide board and lodging for them, satisfied to maintain a hotel or feeding-place for their children, a starting-point for school, instead of being bent upon establishing a home. If children needed nothing more than food, clothing and shelter, that might be called a home, which

provided these things. But, while these things are needful to life, life is not eating nor drinking nor sleeping. Homes are not so much places fit for children to live in as places in which to fit children for life. Why do multitudes of our youth grow into manhood and womanhood with a mean, ignoble vision of life? Because in their homes they have seen a father absorbed in schemes to get rich instead of being enriched with a scheme of life, because they have been reared by a mother drifting aimlessly upon the tides of comfort and self-complacency instead of being stirred to struggle vigorously with all the changes and chances of life. A home is not made up, it must be understood, of things. A home fits children to sit in the saddle and ride things. Wonder is often expressed that a reprobate should be the offspring of a palatial home and a hero emerge from a hovel. But the reprobate may have been homeless amid the wealth and splendor of his parental roof, and the hero may have been well-mothered and fathered despite every untoward circumstance. There are as many homes in Five Points as on Fifth Avenue in New York.

And the parents, who give children everything that the world can give and nothing more, naturally crown their folly by striving throughout their days so to arrange their affairs that their children may be spared the hardship of toil and the ignominy of self-support. One sometimes wonders to the redress of which wrong the State should first set itself,—the starving of the bodies of the children of the poor or the starving of the souls of the children of the rich. It may be that the cure of the one will include the healing of the other,—that if the souls of the "haves" were not starved and shrivelled, the poverty that makes for starvation would be relegated to

the hideous memories of an inhuman past. One is moved to wonder at the fatuity of seemingly wise fathers, who conceive their parental duties to be adequately and honorably discharged if they bequeath large possessions to their children. Such a bequest may often mean the multiplying of life's besetments, whereas the memory of a home, however gaunt and stricken, may be shield and buckler in the hour of moral stress. Of what value were the most precious cargo imaginable if there were no stars by which to steer, no helmsman at the wheel? If the poor are exposed to the ills which are caused by congestion of population, upon the rich is imposed an equally menacing evil, the soul-suffocating congestion of possessions, which may stunt a soul as truly as the other stunts a body. The savor of life is not the mad struggle to transmit possessions from generation to generation but such nobility of descent as compels nobility of ascent.

We can never hope that houses can be converted into homes until parents are really mindful of the truth that children are more than bodies, more than stomachs and appetites, that children have moral, mental, spiritual needs, and that these must be met. A man's hunger and thirst must be satisfied or he shall perish. A man's mind and soul need nurture, which, being denied, these shall perish. Nothing save iron circumstance can prevent parents from nourishing the body of their child. Convention, prudence, expediency dictate that the mental requirements of the child shall not be left unsatisfied. But an inconsiderable minority of parents remember that their children have spiritual natures and spiritual cravings, which are left to struggle for themselves as best they may, without the needed fostering and furtherance. In one word, we guard the bodies of our children; we feed tidbits to their minds; their souls are left to starve.

From time to time the courts deal severely with such parents as neglect the physical well-being of their children. Who can picture the congestion which would arise in the courts if before them were arraigned all parents who commit the cruelty of neglecting the higher nature of their children? If parents wittingly deny food, raiment, shelter to their children, the law summons them for judgment on their misdeeds; devoutly is it to be wished that parents might be made answerable before the bar of public opinion if not of legal justice for the unutterable wrong of suffering the spiritual nature of their children to remain unnurtured and unguarded. Some years ago, I happened to observe troops of children in a European health-resort. It was touching to look upon the solicitude with which the parents watched their offspring in the hope of winning for them relief from the various ailments with which they were afflicted. The question then and there suggested itself,—how many parents are as earnestly concerned touching the moral status of their children? How often are the specialists in moral education—and there are such—consulted respecting symptoms of serious moral disturbance or spiritual derangement in the young? If sickness overtake a child, the best aid that science can afford is invoked, and nothing that skill can devise or love execute is left undone in order to overcome the dread disease. Is a daughter's inner life of less moment than her fingers,—and yet the question waits for no reply,—Is moral guidance deemed as important by her parents as the care of her hands? Little lads spend days with the specialists to overcome some slight dental defect, at heavy cost in time and money. But with what seriousness do parents undertake to straighten out the twists in the characters of their sons,—as if these were self-correcting?

What greater wrong can a parent inflict up a child than to treat it as if it had no soul? All else that parents may be and do cannot make good this hurt. For, being dealt with as if they were soulless, it shall come to pass that soulless they shall become,—in the words of Carlyle, chattering, grinning, soulless apes. And a special plea ought here be made to mothers touching the upbringing of daughters. I would remove every legal and civil disability under which women rest, but, I conceive, the surest way to perpetuate women's inferior status is so to rear our daughters that they may measure down to the estimate which assumes their inferiority. It is no less important to rear daughters wisely than to train sons well. If anything more important, for our daughters of to-day are to be the mothers of to-morrow. Daughters ought to rebel against mothers who treat them as if they were to be nothing more than "frilled and furbelowed clothes-pegs." One constantly hears of mothers setting out deliberately and solely to make their daughters "thoroughly attractive." One does not hear quite so often of mothers, who aim to make their daughters thoroughly fine and worthy. "Thoroughly attractive" means having regard altogether to the opinion of others, to seeming instead of being.

R. J. Campbell rightly scorns and scores the aimlessness of the "life of a young woman of fairly good position, who has not found some purpose of her own in life, a sort of idle parasite upon the family resources, flitting like a butterfly from one trifling means of enjoyment to another, the average comfortable, middle-class family in which the boys seek a profession, as a matter of course, while the girls waste their time hanging about the house or paying visits." It is not easy to forget a young woman, who, in response to a suggestion that she should

investigate the problem of equal suffrage, regretted that she was so much occupied, and who, as I met her on the following day, confessed with evident chagrin that she had just taken a lesson in bridge whist.

But this is the inevitable sequence of the training, which fits women not for life, not for motherhood, not for wifehood, not for marriage but just for marrying. One hardly knows which is a more saddening sight, men insanely toiling to get money or women spending it in imbecile idleness. But we may be sure that, after taking into account every other predisposing circumstance, the cause is to be found in the home which left sons and daughters without that invigorating purpose and soul-satisfying aim, which would have precluded the possibility of sons converting themselves into slightly mobile counting machines and daughters into less immobile lay-figures. One of the noblest teachers of religion in our land has summed up the problem: "The parent owes the child-body bread; he owes the child-mind reading and writing; he owes the child-heart love; he owes the child-soul his own thought of God, his best to the date of their asking. The wondrous thing entrusted to us is the crown of the visible creation; a body, a mind, a heart, a will, a conscience, a soul, all of them feeble, all of them helpless, all of them vital through and through."

However much, it must again be insisted, the school is to do for the child, the home must do something else and something more. It is the education of a home which "is to prepare us for complete living." It is the home training, which can best meet the test set by Agesilaus touching what children should learn,—what they should do, being men. And, in view of the demand which is becoming more and more insistent that the school training vocational in character, it is to be expected

that the school will content itself with helping men to make a living, while the home must increasingly devote itself to the task of preparing men to fashion aright their lives. For living is the end and a living only a means to that end. However efficient an auxiliary the school may prove, it is the home that must nurture and guide the moral and spiritual life of the child. What has been well styled by Professor Brumbaugh our intellectualized system of education will not suffice to train men, who are more than minds. A curriculum of intellectual truth is important but not less important than to inform the mind with truth is to inform the will with motive.

But, parents ought to be warned, ceaseless moralizing is not moral instruction any more than spiritualism is training in the life of the spirit. Nor are severity and rigor in dealing with the child the equivalent of moral guidance. Thy gentleness hath made me great,—was first spoken by the psalmist to the Heavenly Father, but it may truly be spoken by some children to their human parents. On the negative side, the parental task is not to be despised, for parents must do much to counteract such unwholesome influence as is exerted by school and comrades and to the discharge of this task parents must bring a bountiful, inexhaustible idealism that children may be armed against the shafts of the world's cynicism. If parents cannot or will not endue the minds of their children with high ideals, it may at least be asked of them that they shall not sneer at and thus uproot their ideals. The task of disillusionment may safely be left to the world. Let not that act of sacrilege be wrought within the home. A father said to me some years ago of his own son, who gave promise of rare poetical gifts: "I'd rather have my son manufacture second-class shoes than first-

rate poetry." Another man of large means would not permit his son to prepare for the ministry, because, "he can afford to do something better." As if any man could afford not to follow the call to do what, at its highest, is "worthy of angels."

The content of such moral teaching of children by their parents may be debatable, but that parents should provide such moral training is undebatable. In the *Crown of Wild Olives*, Ruskin emphasizes modesty, faithfulness, generosity, charity and cheerfulness as the qualities of childhood,—qualities to be cultivated that they become the bases of manhood's integrity and woman's virtue. A distinguished educator of our age advises the specific inculcation of the virtue of civilization, namely, politeness, the virtue of morality namely, truth and conscientiousness, the virtue of the ethical life, namely humility. Difficult as it would be to compile an inclusive catalogue of the moral qualities to be developed as far as may be in children, certain qualities there are which are fundamental to the ethical life. These must be communicated in early youth or they will for all time remain unas-similable.

As the cornerstone of the ethical life I would lay down truth,—that sense of truth which, in relation to others, is sincerity and justness, in relation to self conscience, in relation to God holiness, that truth which is to be the grace of the lips because it is the crown of the soul. Children must in their earliest days gather from parental creed and deed the binding character of the law of kindness. But within their own home they will learn or they will not learn at all, that no privilege of enjoyment is as precious as the obligation of service. The zest for service can be heightened only through ceaseless emphasis upon the supreme place of unselfishness in a

worthy scheme of life. The great sodden mass of self-seeking and self-centered individualism will not be lessened as long as the home fails to train the child with a view to social living, that is social duty and social responsibility, to the end that the privileged and legalized and cherished anarchism of our day may cease to be.

Again, it is the home even more than the school, that must through wise guidance rather than unwise governance, help the child to evolve into a self-directing personality,—storm-proof, even faggot-proof. Only if we help our children to the fullest exercise of all their faculties, to self-realizing and self-reliant individuality, may we hope that they will be strong under the tests and trials of the world. It is the home which more than all other agencies combined must fit the child for every walk and relation of life. It is the home that must, in the word of Milton, train not only the man but the citizen, the man in every sphere of duty and not least in the sphere of citizenship duties. If society break down in the neighborhood relations, in the domestic or intimate relations, in the civic relations, it is because the home has failed to help the child to energize its moral and spiritual potencies into achievements.

The question with which we are dealing is not a Jewish question but to it, none the less, we have, as it were, a Jewish answer to offer. Some of Israel's gifts to the world may be challenged, their originality disputed, their value denied. But nothing less than the malign spirit of falsehood will contest the truth that the home in Israel, the family life, was at one and the same time an achievement for Israel and a service to the world. The Greeks made the family the unit of life in name: Israel made the family the cellular unit of life in fact, its organic centre.

True are the words of Uriel Acosta: "Tief in ihrem Volke wurzelt der Zauber der Familie."

Without being guilty of chauvinism, one may claim much touching the surpassing beauty of the home in Israel, its transcendent splendor even in the darkest days of the dark ages that have never ceased for Israel since Christianity began. Never was parental love more tender and solicitous, never was filial piety more reverent and gentle than in the Jewish home. By one of the chance felicities of diction, the house or home of Israel is the classic Hebrew name for the Jewish people. Touching its own homes, Israel held firmly to the faith unless the Lord build the house, they labor in vain who build it. Poor and empty is the home, however rich and full, if God dwell not therein. Rich and blessed is the home, whatever its outward circumstance, in which God dwells. Thus the rabbis well said: The law which has no parental home is not a law, that is to say, even the religious and moral law derives its highest sanction within the circle of the home.

It was no miracle that the angel of death passed over the houses of Israel in Egypt, for death could not touch the imperishable life which had preserved itself amid the wrongs and sufferings of bondage to the Pharaohs. The angel of darkness could not enshadow the homes illumined by the undimmed light of Israel's life and longing. And of the home, the mother was ever the bright particular star, its ministering angel, its consecrated priestess. Israel's sages at times referred to the mother as the home, and the alphabet was exhausted by the poet of the acrostic thirty-first chapter of Proverbs, as he sought to portray the graces and virtues of the mother of the home. "Unto us a child is given" was the joyous acclaim of the Jewish home at every birth scene, for the

mother knew that she might have the unutterable joy of bearing and rearing a child that might prove to be the Messiah-deliverer of the people of Israel. Napoleon inspired his army by saying that every soldier carried a marshal's baton in his knapsack. Every home in Israel believed itself to be the possible birthplace of the Messiah.

What inspiration to motherhood lay in this hope! As a result, though one child did not inaugurate the kingdom of heaven, Israel's sons and daughters together gradually became the builders of a kingdom of inward peace and content, which the world without could not shake. In his essay on the Child in Jewish Literature, Professor Schechter has said that love and veneration went out to the child in peculiar measure, because it was believed to have been born to the honor of God and that its mission was to glorify the name of God on earth.

Geboren soll es wehren
Zu Gottes Ehren.

For centuries and centuries the pristine beauty of the Jewish home remained unmarred, as a result of the circumstances, which immured the Jew within the Ghetto walls. He knew not the myriad distractions, which have always told against home-building. The home and the family-life were made the beneficiaries of the enforced isolation of the Jew, who bestowed upon the home all his watchful interest and loving solicitude. Unknowingly distilling the soul of goodness out of things evil, the Jew made his home his world. Without narrowing his outlook upon the world outside, the world of his own home was broadened and deepened. So sweet was the Jew's use of adversity that, shut up in the Ghetto to fester and to perish, the Ghetto-home preserved Israel alive by so fostering the sense of kinship and solidarity that Israel was

enabled to stand with Coriolanus-like dignity and pride in the face of the world's banishment.

It was no fiction of Heine that the crouching, humbled Jew was transformed into an unbending prince in the light of his own home, viewing its little less than miraculous potency of transfiguration. Because every man knew how to draw up an indictment against this whole people, the family life, which is but another name for parental tutelage, braced every man to meet the responsibility of bearing upon his own shoulders the burden of the world's scorn and contumely without stooping to hatred and without shrinking into sullen acquiescence. The home sustained the hearts of Israel with some such counsel as that of the English leader to his insurgent followers: Know you not that men may call you the scum of the earth and all vile names, but there is no power on earth that can make you so save just yourselves.

We always buy our blessings at a price and the bitter price paid for the blessing of razed Ghetto walls threatens to be the breaking up of the home, which stood fast within these walls. It were infinitely to be regretted if the emancipation of the Jew presaged his release from the thrall of the ennobling Jewish home. Israel could endure any loss more equably than the loss of its home influence and its home values. If in the past Israel has been perpetuated by the home, it is not less true that the future of Israel depends in large part upon the wisdom with which Israel maintains all that through the ages was best in the home. It was the home that saved Israel and kept Israel worth saving. It was the family that made Israel's life worth living by lending worth to the life of Israel's sons and daughters.

The whole duty of the parents is summed up in the word of the Psalmist: Lo, children are an heritage of the

Lord. If children are a heritage of the Lord, then the parent is a trustee, and a trustee has been called "the parents' most significant title Each parent a joint trustee for this living miracle It is a vast dignity, the greatest conferred by nature It is a vast responsibility, the weightiest with which man is burdened. For the parent is God's vice-gerent and visible representative on earth." The essential quality of a heritage imposes the necessity of transmitting it unimpaired and unlesened of value. This holds true of a heritage of material things, such as money, lands, which must by reason of its peculiar nature be so safeguarded that it shall not be wasted nor deteriorated, but rather bettered and heightened in value. Children are an heritage of the Lord so that parents are trustees of a divine heritage. Divine? Yes! Say those who have looked into the eyes of a child, thrilled by the intimation of immortality it conveyed, by the embodied earnest of divinity. From God comes the heritage, whose trustees we are. To God must we pass on the unique and divine trust,—to the Godlike. "We parents cannot teach more of God to our child than we have incarnated of God in ourselves." Heaven lies around us in the infancy of a child: the parent owes the child not less than it brings. An heritage from the Lord! Only in the measure in which the child brings God into the lives of parents can parents bring the things of God into the life of the child.



The Social Message of the Hebrew Prophets

The most important contribution of Israel to social teaching was the life of the Hebrew prophets. The lives of these tribunes of the people,—quoting Renan's fine phrase,—this earliest and mightiest of the world's groups of furtherers of social well-being, are Israel's contribution to the social message. "The Law and the Prophets" alike ever dealt with loftiest wisdom with the problem of social need and equity. Each of the prophets emphasized some aspect of social wrong and injustice, and made some decisive contribution to the elucidation of the social ideal,—Amos, for example, crying out against fraud and heedless hurt to the poor, and Isaiah laying bare in unforgettable words "the essential deadliness of land monopoly." A recent recital of Israel's chief gifts to the world by a distinguished biblical scholar included the belief in a realizable ideal, the sense of social justice, the passion for humanity, and faith in the coming of the Messianic day of man. All these are of the essence of Hebrew prophetic faith and teaching. The perennial value of the teaching of the prophets is pointed out by George Adam Smith, who reminds us that they not only aroused their own age to consciousness of sin and to deep penitence, but also every succeeding age to which,

as to the age of Savonarola, their words were brought home with power and directness.

It is well for us to bear in mind the conditions under which the social message of the prophets was uttered. The prophetic discourses were not spoken to women's clubs, nor in the hope of shaking the imperturbable self-complacency of ministerial meetings. The message of the prophets was spoken by men and to men, and, when it was necessary, was hurled and thundered at men. The Hebrew prophets proved that their warrant came straight from God by what they demanded of man and for man. The prophets spoke to their age, and therefore they speak to the ages. They addressed themselves not only to the common people, but to the mighty of the earth, kings, princes, noblemen. They not only pronounced abstract and unrelated principles, but applied these timeless principles to the problems of their times. It is a blunder to contrast Jesus with the Hebrew prophets in respect of the application of principles, for Jesus went to the length of applying the lash, not only laying down abstract principles, but laying on the very concrete scourge.

The message of the Hebrew prophets, true to the genius of the faith which begot them and which they in turn regenerated, was pre-eminently social. Because it was social it has lived for nearly three thousand years, and it will survive until it shall have wrought itself into the life of the ages. This was not the only message of the prophets, but their most memorable utterances were those conscience-cries, the echoes of which still lay bare our social iniquities. These conscience-cries move Renan to apostrophize his age: "Go back to the sources of Christianity; take up the words of the inspired socialists, Isaiah, Ezekiel and Jeremiah; put them into the mouths

of your priests; be a revolutionary in the spirit of these Anavim, and you will make the church again the guide and controller of human society, while curing Europe of its moral and social diseases."

The social message of the Hebrew prophets profoundly affected the life, and may be said to have been reaffirmed by the teaching, of Jesus of Nazareth. In their implicit social insistence, the doctrines of Jesus were of a piece with the utterances of the earlier prophets whom he constantly cites. Better, far better for Christianity, if the social message of the prophets, the influence of which is clearly traceable in the words of Jesus, had remained the dominant element in the scheme of Christian doctrine! As long as Christianity remained the religion of Jesus, it had, in the words of Leslie Stephen, "An uncomfortable dash of socialism in its early stages, but has now become an excellent bulwark to the rights of property." As long as Christianity remained the social gospel of Jesus, the Jewish prophet, it took men captive. But when it had been Hellenized and Romanized and Paganized into the abatement, if not abandonment, of the social emphases of Judean prophetism, it was captured by the world.

If it be true that a handful of men who misunderstood Jesus crucified his body, it is truer still that his followers have crucified the body,—and the soul,—of his teachings for nearly two thousand years. The early Jesusism brought its disciples to martyrdom. But after the later practice of the communion of the good had succeeded to the earlier principle of community in goods, the daring aspirations of the victims of the catacombs were displaced by the ambitious spires of cathedrals. This is the conviction of true teachers of Christianity in our own day; such as Gladden, who declares that Jesus failed

and was crucified, first his body by his enemies and then his spirit by his friends. The same thought underlies the word of that discerning critic of the church, R. J. Campbell: "Christianity was conquered by becoming respectable. It did indeed mount the throne of the Caesars, but only to replace secular by ecclesiastical tyranny."

The message of the prophets was social because, as we have said, Israel's was a social ideal. Judaism was ever a social religion, regulator of social living, a religion that primarily endeavored to guide and direct the life of men, of man as a social being, of man in every human relation. Ezekiel and the Isaiah of the exile corrected the tendency of Judaism to be exclusively a religion of men rather than of man by their splendid emphasis on the need of perfecting relations between God and the individual, by their appeals to the individual to fix upon himself the blame for the unhappy trials of his people, to find within his own purified heart a source of regenerative peace.

Solemnly do I protest against the injustice of teaching, as is constantly taught by overzealous partisans; "In truth, we cannot understand Christianity at all, until we see it in operation in society. One man alone cannot give an idea of what it is. As some one has said, one man and God will give us all that is essential to any other religion, but Christianity requires for its operation at least two men and God." It is to the implication of this utterance that every self-respecting Jew must vigorously object. What of the religion of Israel? Can one man and God give us all that is essential to it? If so be, Jesus was woefully mistaken. For when he was asked to define the essence of Judaism,—that is to give the great commandments of the Law,—he referred to

those two heavenly utterances recorded in the books of Deuteronomy and Leviticus, which urged man's love of God and man's love of man.

So that Judaism, quite as much as Christianity, requires for its operation at least two men and God, if the testimony of the Old Testament, as borne out by the citations in the New, is to be accepted. We may be moved to agree with the interpreter of the Hebrew prophets: "the great thing is to be sure of our individual relation to God." But, it may be asked, need there be any conflict between man's certitude of right relation to God and his furtherance of the social ideal. How can a man be sure of the rightness of his relation to God unless he have succeeded in achieving right relations to man? The relation of the individual to God can best be tested by his relation to his fellows. Without being disposed to quibble touching this, one is tempted to observe in passing that in one sense it is true that God and one man would give us all that is essential in Judaism,—God and man, not one man but the oneness of man. Even as we look forward to the advent of the Messiah not in the coming of one man but in the becoming one of all men, not through the death of one for all but through the life of all for one another.

Relevant to our contention that Judaism's most distinctive contribution was to the social ideal, we note, following the precedent of the Rabbis, that seven of the ten commandments are social in character and out-reaching, including the Sabbath injunction and the commandment to hallow and maintain inviolate the family relation. To have established the family as the cellular or organic unit was in itself no inconsiderable contribution on the part of Israel to the social ideal. Again, history records no finer attempt to ensure that

balance which we know under the name of social equity than the Mosaic inauguration of the Sabbath or weekly rest-day. What though the Sabbath-enactment of Israel was phrased in the text of ancient myth, its purpose was made unmistakably clear in the verse which prescribed rest for the servant and the cattle. Granted that Judea borrowed the Sabbath conception from Babylonia, Israel's "marvelous power of transfiguration in the act of imitation" was herein illustrated at its highest. The Sabbath, which Emerson surprisingly counts as one of Christendom's gifts to the world, the Sabbath of Israel was an institution antipodally removed from the Babylonian *dies nefas* upon the model of which we are urged to believe that it was founded. The Jewish Sabbath was to be a day of rest for all, and, in the universality of its provisions for rest, alike for master and man, it forecasted the higher and more equitable relation of fraternity which must needs ultimately supplant the earlier and lower magisterial relation.

Parenthetically it may be observed that nothing could be more tragic for Israel than that the insistence upon the letter of the seventh-day Sabbath by Israel should result in the actual Sabbathlessness of the Sabbath-giving Jew. Two injustices must be averted. The State must not compel the Jew to do violence to his convictions in working on his Sabbath-day by reason of its Sabbath-laws, save when such inhibition is imperative and inevitable. On the other hand, the Jew must not drift into the physical and moral suicide of Sabbathlessness under the pressure of temptation to utilize every opportunity for economic advantage. Bearing upon Israel's notable provisions for the social weal, a recent writer pictures the striking contrast between the jubilee of the Mosaic law which re-distributed land and other properties and

the Queen's Jubilee,—a day's rest, gilt carriages, and a going back to shop and factory on the day after with a headache.

Reverting for another moment to the claim that Christianity alone requires God and two men for its operation, what, it may be asked, of the attitude of the Jew alike in theory and in practice to the poor. For this constitutes a very significant test of the reality of Israel's contribution to the social ideal. For one thing, the most humane and merciful laws governed the conduct of the Jew toward his poorer, weaker brother, at a time when the wisest in a neighboring civilization were seriously mooting the plan of eliminating the unfit. Poor-law and poor-house abuses did not and could not arise among a people, who viewed the poor man not as a necessary evil but as one to be dealt with considerately and compassionately. And this benignant treatment of the poor in Israel was in inevitable fulfillment of the law which bade relief "that thy brother may live with thee."

The two very grave evils, which menace present-day philanthropy, were averted by Israel with memorable wisdom, and, it may be added, with enlightened statesmanship. The pauperization of the poor was impossible among a people, who like Israel regarded the instincts of charity as in fulfillment of the dictates of justice. And the prescribed methods of help in ancient Israel were in keeping with the exalted spirit, which could barely differentiate charity from justice, which truly divined that philanthropy could obtain only among the potentially equal. Thus the enfeebling dole was not needed in a land, which permitted the poor to glean in the fields and thus assured opportunity for self-respect and self-help.

But the most significant contribution of Israel to the social ideal was the implicit faith that poverty is not ineluctable, that there need not for all time be a fixed poor class amid the population. Again and again it has been pointed out by impartial students of the ancient Hebrew polity that, while the utmost humaneness is prescribed in all relations between those who have and those who have not, none the less the Mosaic legislation "does not seem to contemplate any settled class of poor in the land but only such as are reduced by loss or accident to sudden impoverishment * * * so that in point of fact, no pauper class existed or could exist among the Israelites. A 'submerged tenth' was not possible in the land of promise."

Assuming for a moment the correctness of the current interpretation of the verse in Deuteronomy, "For the poor shall not cease out of the land," still it is not implied that there need be any considerable class of poor, any permanently and incurably poor majority or even minority of the population. But, the question may be put, is the verse of Deuteronomy to be interpreted as a blandly uncomplaining prophecy of ceaseless, cureless poverty, which were tantamount to the admission of the permanent reign of evil and wrong in the world. May we not place the emphasis somewhat differently,—reading: "Even though the poor should not cease from the land, still would I command thee, saying, Thou shalt open wide thy hand to thy brother, to thy poor, and to thy needy within thy land." And this interpretation is borne out in some part by the third verse of the same chapter, which reads: "save when there shall be no poor among you," and considers the absence of poverty

the sign of divine favor; witness the remainder of the verse: "for the Lord will greatly bless thee in the land."

Granted, however, that the word ascribed to Moses: "For the poor shall not cease from the land," is prophecy rather than protest, there is a faith which is impiety even as there is an unfaith which is piety. Better the minor heresy of unbelief in the word of Moses, for the poor shall not cease from the land, than the major heresy of belief in the curelessness of poverty and social injustice. Even as it were far less heretical for the Christian to proclaim, in the despite of the word of Jesus, that we shall *not* always have the poor with us, than nervelessly and hopelessly to assent to the fatal doctrine that poverty shall never cease from the earth, that the injustice of poverty is forever ineradicable. This summary of the principles and practices of the Jew touching poverty suffices to show how fair is the claim that no religion save Christianity requires more than God and one man for its operation.

A cardinal principle of the religion of Israel was the truth,—far from having become axiomatic even after twenty-five centuries,—man is more than property. This principle, though implicit and not clearly outspoken, was in crass contrast to the Roman obsession that property is more than man. This teaching was reasserted with vigor by the prophets: "I will make man more precious than fine gold; even a man than the golden wedge of Ophir." It is tempting to dwell here for a moment, because it is constantly dinned into our ears that Rome gave us the arts of law and government even as Greece gave us art and science. The Judean law was based upon a great and overshadowing event,—the emancipation of a people from political and industrial bondage. Whether or not the exodus be historical in all

its details, there is no denying the historicity of the idealism of the legislation which it inspired. The codes of Justinian, "that detestable book," says Heine, "which may be called the bible of the devil,—I mean the codex of the Roman civil law, which unfortunately still holds sway," rested on no such inspiring event. For, whereas the code of Moses befitted a people who took their national rise in a wondrous deliverance, the background of the legislation of contemporary and much later Rome was such fixed social difference and inequality as wrought the impoverishment, degradation and enslavement of the many, and the enrichment and sovereignty of the few.

An English teacher is moved to write the following tribute to the personality-safeguarding character of the Mosaic Theocracy. "The exodus from Egypt is a world-epic, to which history is perpetually adding fresh illustrations of the truth it teaches: eternal justice, implacable to the oppressor, refusing to let him go until he has paid the uttermost farthing. The same conviction must result from the consideration of certain peculiar provisions of the Mosaic law. The land could not be made private property. It belonged to God, the families of Israel being His tenants. No creditor could finally take it from them, nor could any family sink through accumulated debt. The blast of trumpets that heralded the year of jubilee proclaimed universal liberty. No insolvent or slave-classes could come into permanence as long as this law was observed. A slave had not even to wait until the jubilee, every seventh year being a year of freedom. Even when the people fall under a King, he does not call them subjects but brethren. And the equality of every Israelite before God is strikingly shown on the Day of Atonement. No democracy, ancient or

modern, has ever so safeguarded the principles of national solidarity and the sacred character of the human personality, as did the Hebrew theocracy."

No contribution of the prophets to the social ideal could be more significant, though not immediately relevant, than their insistence upon the this-worldly character of the faith of Israel, as opposed to the other-worldly quietism of other faiths. In a posthumous work on "Labor and Neighbor," Ernest Crosby says: "Moses evidently saw the evil effects of turning the minds of men away from this world, and in the books ascribed to him we find no hint of a world to come. It was evidently his opinion that true religion concentrates itself on the present; and that to do right and be right now is the best security for being right forever. At any rate, the ten commandments deal exclusively with this world." This emphasis led Leroy-Beaulieu to allude in playful irony to the dispersed remnants of Judah as "visionary adepts in Messianic humanitarianism." This union of Messianic hope with a persistent humanitarian ideal saved the prophetic teachers from the other-worldliness with its blighting effect upon human effort, which reached its classic culmination in certain faiths and peoples of the East. Borrowing for a moment an alien term, they strove after the Kingdom of God in heaven, but they were not willing to let the devil have unchallenged sway over the earth. It was the native this-worldliness of Israel, re-emphasized in the meliorist teachings of the prophets, that leads a discerning historian of our race to point jestingly to "the bourgeois ideal of the Jewish people, their material ideal * * * * it does not lose itself in the clouds of the azure heavens; its object is this earth and its realities; its aim is the establishment of peace and the diffusion of happiness

among men * * * * and the time will come when every man shall be able to sit peacefully in the shadow of his vine and his olive-tree."

Let us not affect to be ashamed of this ancient ideal of Israel, which is becoming the ideal of the millions in every land, the social basis of whose religious ideals has alienated them from the churches of the world. This so-called bourgeois ideal may not be an all-inclusive ideal but it is a fundamental ideal. I would not go so far as to maintain with a recent Anglo-Jewish writer that "life and happiness are the real essence of Judaism," but I am not unprepared to admit that "those social and humanitarian laws, which aim at social justice, we can call the kernel, the essence of Judaism."

The so-called bourgeois ideal, which the prophets did most to make central to the thought and aspiration of Israel, rested upon the recognition by Israel from earliest times of the economic basis of human welfare. Such recognition represented a gain of farthest-reaching significance,—comparable in truth to the service rendered to the race, when Israel first declared the unity of God and proclaimed the moral sovereignty of the universe. Back of this recognition, which was a spiritual achievement of the highest order, lay the implication that human welfare is always desirable though not always attainable, and that human welfare is not ordinarily a thing apart from human well-being. Israel clearly understood that a man's highest welfare may sometimes be coincident with earthly woe and wretchedness, but, in general Israel by her prophets affirms the thesis that no scheme of human existence ought to be drawn up, and, if drawn up, is in accordance with the will of God, unless it secure the elements of earthly well-being to all men who toil or are willing to toil, and to all who are unable to

toil,—a position nominally but not actually repudiated by the other-worldliness of Christianity. Is that bourgeois ideal of Israel to be lightly esteemed, which would assure to man the economic basis of existence and thus enable him to make for that higher life, which cannot permanently be attained without such guarantees?

Sometimes it is urged by those who wish to minimize the social element in Christianity that Jesus' teaching was antithetic to that of the prophets. And these cite his word to Pilate: My kingdom is not of this world. Whatever the construction placed upon these words, they constitute a solemn warning to men, whose hearts are set upon the things of this world. But it is inconceivable that in saying, My kingdom is not of this world, Jesus wished all men to resign themselves uncomplainingly to the scheme which decreed the enrichment and exaltation of the few, the impoverishment and abasement of the many,—the multitudes in dire want and a limited number the possessors of the earth and the fulness thereof.

Dr. Campbell, author of "Christianity and the Social Order," appears to be nearer to the mind of Jesus the Jew in holding: "The other-worldism of commonplace Christianity to-day has no place whatever in the pages of the New Testament. The Kingdom of God as Jesus understood it could never have been anything less than a universal brotherhood, a social order in which every individual unit would find his highest happiness in being and doing the utmost for the whole * * * To Jesus as to John the Kingdom of God was a commonwealth of social justice and brotherhood. It is one of the great contradictions of history that the religion which started as the promise of universal brotherhood should have come to be the chief bulwark of authority and the foe

of liberty. The transition was perfectly simple. All that had to be done was to transfer the expectation of communal happiness from this world to the next, and the thing was done. Henceforth the advice to the poor and oppressed would be that they should remain passive under existing injustice, in order that they might receive compensation in heaven. A greater travesty of the original meaning and purpose of the religion of Jesus could not well be imagined."

The so-called Christian powers of the world might well consider the possibility that Jesus meant his kingdom to be one without police and soldiery, a kingdom resting on the one maxim of love and gentleness, and not on a myriad Maxims of force and violence. That Jesus, following the high example of the earlier masters in Israel, should have sought to belittle riches, power, rule, in themselves, is a rightful inference from his utterance, but that this Hebrew of the Hebrews wished to move men to rest content under the injustice and oppression of the world in the hope of compensating abundance and bliss in the world to come is borne out neither by the letter nor the spirit of his teachings. And this would signify that Jesus was indifferent to the fate of the poor, and unconcerned with the problem of poverty and the suffering which it entailed, that he cared not what hells of wrong and oppression men perforce endured in this world, as long as they delivered their souls from the snares of eternal hell. But if this be a valid interpretation of his thought, how explain his ministry of pity for the poor and his seeming aim to lessen if not remedy the sorrow and suffering of men due to those social maladjustments which then as now caused poverty and its woes?

The regrettable recoil of Christendom, if so it may be called, from the bourgeois ideal of Israel's prophets, gave rise to two momentous developments,—on the one hand, to the monasticism which was to be of no direct value to the life of the world, for it did not teach men how to live. Simon Stylites' example was not immediately helpful to his contemporaries who lived at the foot of the pillar. Again, the mistaken distortion of the teaching of Jesus into opposition to Israel's bourgeois ideal resulted in one of the fundamental teachings of Christendom,—there are those who would call it the blight of Christianity,—the notion that evils and hardships in this life should not alone be endured but even invited in the expectation of recompense and redress in the next. This notion of the millions, needless to say, men of possessions and place and power have found it desirable sedulously to cultivate. The bourgeois ideal was cast aside, and for it was substituted the opiate, which soothes the starving to-day by picturing the overloaded banquet table of the morrow, the opiate which deluded men into the faith that to starve the body is to enrich the soul. This nominal ideal of Christendom, ever honored in the breach save by the lowly, was phrased by Schiller:

“Duldet muthig, Millionen,
Duldet fuer die bess're Welt.”

Bravely to endure is ever well but not for the sake of a better life to come. Bravely one ought ever to endure but never without striving to better things. From this danger Judaism was saved by the prophetic insistence that every man shall sit under his vine and under his fig tree.

In proof of the significance of Israel's contribution to the social message one need but note how many social reformers of our own day point to the Mosaic commonwealth and its legislation either as the source or the justification of their own proposals. These do not assent for the most part to the divine character of such legislation, nor do they wish to utilize the reverence felt therefor. But they revert to the ancient, withal intensely modern model of the Mosaic commonwealth, because it retains the germ and more of many of the theories of social advance propounded in our own day.

As disciples of the prophets, it remains for the sons and daughters of Israel to-day to hold up without fear or flinching the ancient and unaging, because, alas, untried, ideals of social justice. The Jew ought to be one of the captains in the armies now waging peaceful war on behalf of social equity and social righteousness. And he has been, and is in the lead! It is heartening to the Jew to recall that the modern leadership of the socialist movement rested with two sons of Israel, truant to the fellowship but loyal to the larger faith of Israel, which above all bids us pursue justice. Whatever our belief touching the economic validity of socialism, it is inspiring to recall that millions have been awakened to a new hope and a new idealism by the summons of two sons of Israel. Again, Israel's potential leadership of the cause of social progress is attested by the circumstance that it was the monumental work of another Jew, Jean de Bloch, which led the Czar to convene the Hague Conference in the cause of international peace through justice.

An historian of Israel maintains that not the least of the wrongs inflicted upon Israel was that the Jews,

the world's proclaimers of idealism, who once preached to the world the Kingdom of God, have been turned into the most matter-of-fact and earthly-minded of races by unennobling persecution. And yet ours is the daring hope that Israel, whose historic starting-point was a great emancipation, may yet again be "smitten with the great vision of social righteousness," and with the wisdom of statesmanship and the courage of faith speak the word of deliverance unto the children of men in the social-industrial crisis of our own age. A people, the genius of whose divine leading first commanded the enslaving powers: "Let my people go that they may serve me," shall not claim surcease from service and strife until the work of righteousness be peace.

We face the peril of forgetting one and not the lesser phase of the Jewish task, the establishment of a "social system which is to be a model to the nations and to contain the maximum of social justice." A non-Jewish writer on the purpose of the Jew in history forecasts Israel's task in the words: "The Jew has had burnt into his very soul a regard for the rights of others, and a sympathy with the oppressed which makes him especially fit for the practical part of his divine work." Judaism may have no concrete solution to offer of the mighty problems which face our age, but this we know,—if the social ideal of the Hebrew prophets were regnant in our present-day civilization, injustice and inequity would cease to be and the requirement of the Lord, which is justice, would become the voluntary bond between man and man.

Such was the social message of Israel, which found clearest expression in the teaching of her prophets. The message of the prophets in every age must be social. If the message of social living be needed in every age,

our own is in direst need of a word that shall restore peace to the discordant and warring elements of our so-called civilization.

“Still at the prophets’ feet the nations sit.”

I sometimes fear that we ought in truth read the line of the poet differently;—at the prophets’ feet the nations sit still. Let not the nations still sit nor yet sit still at the prophets’ feet, but arise and follow in their footsteps, not standing where they stood but journeying on toward the goal whither they directed their steps. The privileged burden of Israel is to fulfill the injunction which the prophet laid not upon one son of Israel but upon the heart of Israel, the suffering priest-servant of humanity: he shall bring forth justice according to truth: he shall not fail nor be abashed till he have set justice upon the earth. Then shall justice flow like waters and righteousness as a mighty stream.

Teacher and Child

No educational assembly in this year would be complete that did not dwell for a moment on what may be styled two current educational anniversaries—the eightieth birthday celebration of Count Tolstoi and the tercentenary of the birth of Milton. Tolstoi, the peasant prophet of Russia, is not of wide fame in the educational world, but he is none the less a truly great teacher. His American disciple and interpreter, Ernest Crosby, has written a tract of rare charm and suggestiveness on “Tolstoi, the Schoolmaster.” Be it understood that Tolstoi is no author of textbooks on pedagogic themes, who propounds certain theories and leaves them to be worked out by others. He is an educator of the children of the common people, who tells us how he has taught poor children and tested every theory by years of searching experience. Tolstoi has rendered his generation the supreme service of revealing the potentialities of the education of youth by the law of love and under the banner of freedom.

The second and more important educational anniversary of the year is the tercentenary of the author of the treatise on “Education,” one of the most significant contributions to the development of the science of education in the English tongue. To a gathering of

teachers it may fittingly be pointed out that Milton acknowledged with just gratitude that to his father's discerning taste and fostering care he owed the encouragement of his studies and the leisure which rendered them possible. Prophetic was the soul of the father, who was content to provide the son with the means of prosecuting his eccentric schemes of life, to continue through long years to prepare himself for some great work—its nature unknown.

Milton, whose *Paradise Lost* was no greater poem than his own life, dedicated the gifts of his mind to the service of the state. Thus he taught men for all time that the office of education is not to give men barren learning but fruitful scholarship, not to fill men with dead classics but to fit them for classic living. His education, which began in literature, and ended in life, was well and nobly planned by a wise father, and it impelled him in turn to wise and noble living. One kind or type of training will produce successful sons; another and very different method of training will foster noble sons. Are we training our sons primarily to tread the paths of success or to rise to the heights of nobleness?

The question is bound to press upon us—are the educational processes of college and university preparing our sons for noble living in the way in which John Milton's father consciously helped his son to fit himself "to produce a great poem"? Are we training our sons through the instrumentality of school and college for that true nobleness which is noble serviceableness? And let us not forget that books and colleges are as nothing unless they move men to steer their lives by the fixed star of the ideal. Was it not Shelley who half derisively referred to the use of the term, "seats of learning," in

describing Oxford and Cambridge? "Yes, it is a seat of learning; it is a seat in which learning sits very comfortably, well thrown back as in an easy chair, and sleeps so soundly that neither you nor I nor anybody else can wake her." In the American university we are asked to view soft cushions as the token of hard study. College and university must move men to undertake the quest that knows no rest after the unseen good of life.

The best educated and most cultivated of Englishmen became one of England's greatest educators, his essay being, in the phrase of Phillips Brooks, "a prospectus of philosophic education within which almost all the progress of our modern schools has been included and which it is very far yet from outgrowing." His services to the cause of education have been summed up in the word: He found education unnatural, *a priori* and deductive. He exalted observation as the organ and method of instruction, bidding men to learn the concrete before the abstract, to learn by appetite and not by compulsion, to learn as far as possible by observation and not by hearsay. His brief treatise on education must long remain one of the landmarks on the highway of educational advance. Far from being obsolete after more than 250 years, it is still fruitful of suggestion for those of us who would have education serve and enlarge and exalt life.

"There is no higher office than that of a teacher of youth, for there is nothing on earth so precious as the mind, soul and character of the child." "The office of the education of human beings is the noblest on earth." These are the words of William Ellery Channing. Some strange and varied testimonies to the influence and importance of the teacher's work occur to me at this mo-

ment. On one occasion, seeing a boy eating rather greedily, Diogenes gave the lad's tutor a blow with his fist, ascribing the fault not to the boy, who had not learned how to eat properly, but to the tutor who had not taught him. This is one side of the shield; there is another. When the battle of Koeniggraetz was fought, ending with a decisive victory for the Prussians over the Austrians, Bismarck spoke these winged words: "The schoolmaster has conquered."

The responsibility of the teacher suggested in these tales, makes his calling as noble and sacred as any other. Teaching may be, as Van Dyke calls it, the hardest worked and the most interesting, the worst paid and the best rewarded of the secular professions, but it is a calling, a holy calling. One may point to two circumstances which of themselves are eloquent of the teacher's responsibility. The pupil comes in time to look upon his teacher as an oracle, as an infallible and omniscient being. To the frequent embarrassment of their parents, children constantly quote their teachers in opposition to, or in confirmation of, parental dictum. What a vista of responsibility this thought opens up! Moreover, a deep pedagogic truth underlies the Socratic maxim—"knowledge is virtue." It is true that we must know the right in order to be able to do the right, and it is the teacher's task to help a child to such knowing. Minot Savage once said to me, "I do not ask my people to do the right. I try to help them to see and to know the right. That is enough in most cases. If they see it and know it, they will do the right." Truly and fully to know the right is to do the right. This it is in part that makes the office of the educator of supreme importance.

The needs of the teacher are only two, but they mean so much—preparation and consecration. Preparation is

the never ceasing process of fitting oneself from day to day for the ever increasingly difficult task of teaching. Consecration is a sense of devotedness to the teacher's calling arising from a realization of the sacredness of the teacher's responsibility. Consecration may be reduced to simpler terms—love! Love for the child, love for the task! And love in its turn implies so much—respect, sympathy, forbearance. Love for the child! Edward Everett Hale and Helen Keller were talking of a school which she and a friend were to open and Helen expatiated upon the way in which the school was to be conducted. He said, "But, Helen, what are you going to do?" "Oh," said she, "I am going to love the children." So feels the heaven-ordained teacher.

Love goes hand in hand with sympathy and reverence. About the year 1492 in a little village in Germany, there was a schoolmaster, John Trebonius by name, who had a curious habit of raising his cap to salute his pupils when he entered the schoolroom. When some one expressed astonishment he said, "There are among these boys, men of whom God will one day make burgomasters, chancellors, doctors, magistrates. Although you do not see them with the badges of their dignity, it is right that we should treat them with respect." One of these little boys was a certain Martin Luther, who mightily influenced the destinies of men for all time by standing rocklike for what he believed to be true.

Love and reverence for the child will beget the sympathy and forbearance which are two-thirds of the victory. The child mind and its laws, the child psychology must be known, but this knowing or science is not enough. There must be patience and sympathy with the child life, the fewest do's and don'ts. The Decalogue contains, as its name implies, just ten commandments. How

many teachers are as inexigent as Moses! Love for the work! Without love for the work, it is impossible that the teacher should be possessed of and by the indispensable quality of enthusiasm and personality.

Chiefest of the elements of preparation and consecration for the teacher's task is the possession of character. The teacher must not merely know, he and she must *be*. The teacher must be in order to teach. The teacher in the pulpit and the teacher in the schoolroom should be chosen with regard to character above all things. The ancients appreciated that a teacher must be worthy in order worthily to teach. Montaigne tells of the rearing of a Persian prince. At the age of fourteen the child was delivered into the hands of four men, the wisest, the most just, the most temperate and the most valiant of the nation. The first taught him religion; the second, to be ever upright and true; the third, to become master of his own desires; and the fourth, to fear nothing. Almost anybody is good enough to teach, —seems at times to be the rule which governs us in the choice of teachers; in truth, only our finest men and women are good enough to teach. Plutarch said, "The teacher must be of blameless life, pure character and of great experience."

If we are to have the type of teacher aforementioned, certain preliminary conditions must be fulfilled. The office of teacher must be magnified by the people and by the teacher. The State and the people alike must assume a different attitude toward the teacher. The entire question of teaching and teachers must be freed and kept free from political influences and sectarian entanglements. This implies that appointment to office and retention in office should be on the basis of fitness and

merit with special regard ever to the moral worth of the teacher. In the next place, the teacher's tenure of office should be for life, pending always continuance of fitness in the highest sense. The school system in every city should include provisions looking to reward and promotion on the basis of merit and quality of service. Finally, a liberal system of pensions should make possible the retirement of teachers after a certain length of service—that is, when the period of highest usefulness has been terminated.

The teacher's work is the most wearing and taxing in the world. The remuneration should cease to be niggardly and inadequate. If it can not be made adequate to service rendered, it should at least be fair and above the standard of the so-called living wage. Sir William Ramsay criticized our educational system a few years ago because of the small salaries paid to teachers in schools and professors in colleges. Everything possible should be done to make the office of teacher attractive to our best men and finest women. It can never be hoped to make the teacher's post one of the world's prizes in money and material reward, nor is it necessary. But teaching should not forever be the poorest paid of the so called professional callings. Teaching must be made worth while and then we shall get what Ruskin called our money's worth in "the greatest possible number of good and brave men and women."

What is perhaps most urgent of all, the place of the teacher in modern life must be enhanced in honor and in dignity. Teachers above and beyond all other men and women ought as a class to receive the unstinted reverence and gratitude of every community. The teacher is not a hired servant of the state nor of parents. The teacher's office is not menial. The true teacher is

a public benefactor in the highest sense of the term. When that reverence and good will, which are now denied or grudgingly yielded to the teacher, become the teacher's portion, the true and vital relation between the school and the home shall have been established. The parent must be the teacher's fellow worker, coöperator, not hinderer. The best and most faithful work in school is done by pupils who come from a home in which parents think kindly and speak respectfully of teacher and school. The school problem is the parent-teacher problem. A vital and close relation ought ever to obtain between the school and the home. The parents of the pupils must come to feel a profound and unflagging interest in the work of the school. Was it not Plutarch who complains of such parents as intrust a child to a teacher and pay no more heed to it? I have heard of mothers who have a gown fitted five or six times, but who do not pay that number of visits to a school in as many years to learn how a child is being fitted for life.

If only we could secure a right standard of teaching service and of teaching reward a great present-day problem might be within reach of solution. Without in any wise desiring to inveigh against the private school, I can not refrain from expressing the long cherished conviction that the private school ought not to be necessary in our democracy. Not very long ago, occasion offered to make a suggestion to the head of a private school in this city, which suggestion, looking to its larger use, was quickly vetoed because "the girl's desks might be tampered with and our pupils take such a pride in their belongings." The private school can be made unnecessary, if we will make the public school better. Some foolish and foolish parents will always continue to send *their*

children to private schools, but we ought to be able to make our public schools so efficient and so excellent, that parents will, in the main, feel that they can not afford to send their children to any other than the public schools. This were a consummation devoutly to be wished, even though some of our finest men and women now teach in the so-called private schools. The private school system which is fast growing is distinctly anti-American, a menace to our American democracy. The very life-blood of our democracy is the training which is given in the public school, and the private school is not conducive to the spread and permanence of the American spirit.

The masses are being incited against the classes—is one of the chief counts in the indictment against yellow journalism. This incipient antagonism will become far graver in the near future, if the public school become the school of the poor and the private school the school of the rich or well-to-do. One of the prime purposes of the public school is to bring the child of the poor man and the child of the rich man together on the common level of school life and in the wholesome and searching contact of school rivalry. Nothing could be better for the child of the millionaire than to be thrown into close association and constant competition with the child of the wage-earner. Let them come to know and respect each other as they must in the public school. Through the endless multiplication of the private schools and the conversion of the public school into the poor child's school, an end may be put to the one opportunity of the rich man and the poor man of the morrow to meet together. Thus the misunderstanding, which obtains between the rich and the poor, may become irreconcilable and irremediable. Mine is the seemingly radical position that, far from lending State support and countenance to

private or sectarian schools, the time may come when these will not be permitted to exist. But the abolition of the private school and the parochial school must be deferred until the day when we shall have succeeded in making the public school so immeasurably superior to every other that legislation will no longer be needed to achieve this end. If it be true, as is urged, that some of the best and most gifted teachers in the land are in the private schools, this were a sad commentary upon the management of the public schools in American cities. No cheese-paring economy in public education, if you please! For our children, the children of the democracy, we demand the best.

The tasks and opportunities of the teacher may be briefly summed up. Education must individualize, having regard to the accentuation of personality. Education must emancipate or liberate children, who are the sons and daughters of the Republic. Education must ethicize, that is, influence and exalt the moral nature of the child.

What is the task of the teacher? What shall be taught, how shall instruction be given? The answer to the what of teaching should be not things but tendencies. In the multiplicity of things taught today we are in danger of losing sight of fundamentals. We teach many branches but, as Emerson said, no roots. The Germans use the term, *Gruendlichkeit*, with regard to education which thoroughness but imperfectly renders, for *Gruendlichkeit* literally means getting down to the ground, to the very roots. The teaching of the "three R's" has been superseded by such a host of subjects that we are in peril of losing our grip on the one object of teaching. But that object, the answer to the what of teaching, can best be

stated in response to the how of teaching which is almost of greater importance.

The teacher must be the educator. To educate is to draw out, not to dump into, the mind of the child, to lead from darkness to light, to help the child to the right use of every sense, organ and faculty. Every teacher should be to a pupil what Miss Sullivan was to Miss Keller. In Miss Sullivan the fruits of preparation and consecration were visible—years of preparation and a lifetime of consecration. Blind, deaf, mute, Helen Keller was helped by her teacher to an almost miraculous degree of self-development and self-realization. Our children are comparable to Helen Keller; they need Miss Sullivans as teachers.

Parenthetically, it may be said that the teacher must not only know but also know how to impart. One can not impart unless one give a part of what one has. The teacher must know three things—what to teach, how to teach, whom to teach. Every subject may be made appealing, even fascinating, to the child. No subject is dry though every subject may be drily taught. Dull, deadly dull, teachers there are aplenty, but there are no dull themes of instruction. No subject, however interesting in itself, is immune to the desiccating, deadening influence of an arid teacher. Edward Bowen, one of the foremost teachers of the 19th century, lays down as a pedagogic rule: "The boy must at all hazards be interested in the lessons."

If mine were the privilege of laying down a single rule for the guidance of teachers, it would be—a child's individuality is a sacred thing, and is to be regarded and dealt with as holy and inviolable. The individuality of a child is to be respected, and as far as may be nurtured and developed. This is the highest art and the noblest

part of teaching. Professor Dewey has said: "The child must live his own life." I know of no better definition of education than that of the author of *The Simple Life*: "Education should consist in thinking with one's own mind, feeling with one's own heart, expressing the little personalities of the inmost invisible I." Repression is never to be attempted by the teacher. The art of arts in teaching is to help the child to expression—to self-expression. Expression of self by pupil and not the repression of pupil by teacher, must come to be conceived as one of the canons of teaching.

One may urge upon the teacher the importance of furthering at every moment the individuality of the child and yet not be unmindful of the difficulties which stand in the way of individualization in a classroom in which there are 40, even 50, and sometimes 60 pupils. But these difficulties, vexing and impeding though they be, need not be insurmountable to a teacher who is genuinely in earnest. The teacher must take to heart and commend to children the high counsel of Emerson. Insist upon yourself; never imitate. Help every child to be himself, his best and finest self, but ever himself. John Jones, who is himself, is more to be desired than a tenth-rate, unsuccessful imitation of Washington or Lincoln. The great and good are never to be held up for servile imitation but ever for free emulation. I have sometimes wished that teachers might accept for their own guidance the principle and practice of Saladin, "I have never asked that all trees should have the same bark." Some years ago, at the installation of a young minister of the Unitarian Church, a number of addresses had been made in every one of which he had been adjured to be like his great predecessor, Dr. Bellows. The closing address of the day was briefly spoken by Robert

Collyer, who said, "My young friend, you have been asked and implored and warned to be like Dr. Bellows Don't do it. Just try to be the best Theodore Williams you can." I wish that teachers might everywhere essay the same simple task—to help the pupil to live out his own life at its best and highest, to see with his own eyes, to hear with his own ears, to stand upon his own feet, to think with his own mind. And this high office the teacher may hope to fulfil if but he will be mindful of the distinction between instruction and education. "Instruction is imparting information to a mind and may be likened to the act of pouring water into a vessel. Education is the guidance of the growth of a mind and may be likened to the process of cultivating a plant." Education is cultivation and has reference to the processes of growth.

Rightfully do we demand that the teacher shall be the educator rather than the instructor, seeing that the ultimate aim of education is liberty of thought and action. Teaching is unworthy of the name unless it help the child to be able to think for himself, which in the last analysis is to seek the truth without fear or prejudice, and to act for himself, which is to choose the right. A noted teacher of our own day has said, "The three arts of education are seeing, reading, thinking. The boy who learns to see is awakened; the boy who learns to read is enriched; the boy who learns to think is emancipated. Education begins with the memory, continues through the judgment, culminates in the will. To teach a boy to be good is a fine thing; to fit him to choose to be good is a finer." Was not this in the mind of Emerson when, speaking to the Free Religious Association in 1869, he said, "All education is to accustom him to trust himself, discriminate between his higher and lower

thoughts, exert the timid faculties until they are robust and thus train him to self-help until he ceases to be an underling, a tool and becomes a benefactor."

If the fostering of liberty of thought and action be everywhere the aim of education, this is peculiarly true in a democracy. The teacher and the school must never forget that it is theirs to educate a race of freemen, to train future citizens for the liberty and self-restraint which are the essentials of citizenship in a democracy. The teacher ought never to lose sight of the truth that the class-room is not to be a petty despotism but a miniature republic and that the teacher is not to be the repressive tyrant but the freedom-nurturing leader, whose task it is "to train responsible, self-directing agents, not to make soldiers." If it be true, as said Milton, that the true aim of education is to train the man and the citizen, this truth places a special obligation upon the teacher in a democracy. The teacher, who is the servant of the State, must fit children for the understanding of the duties and rights of a citizen of our commonwealth. Education must at every point train the child with reference to his future citizenship in our American democracy.

Civics is beginning to take its proper place in school and college curricula. Few contributions within recent years to the art of training for citizenship have been more significant than the school city or school republic, which gives the child a foretaste of citizenship obligations and responsibilities. The school city, like its prototype, the real city, needs intelligent leadership. Indifference and sloth are as fatal in the conduct of the little school republic as they may yet prove to our greater republic. Better no school city than to have it established where the inevitable leader is not aflame with desire for a better civic order!

While a firm believer in the value of a well coordinated civic training in school and college, I must register a most earnest protest against the illusory notion that such training for citizenship in school and college is of the slightest value, if it be counteracted and nullified by pernicious civic example outside of the classroom. How can a teacher hope to impart to children a sense of civic duty and civic loyalty as long as in the neighboring city hall the mayor and aldermen are serving every interest but the common interest. A clean and efficient administration of the city's affairs is the best possible medium of civic training within the school. No number of civic courses can undo the effect wrought upon the child mind by an inefficient mayor or a corrupt city council. Something, much, everything must be done that the race of boodlers and grafters be not perpetuated in our municipalities from generation to generation. The shame of the cities will become ineradicably fixed unless we resolutely set out to fit our children for fine citizenship by affording them the example of fine citizenship.

What hope may we cherish of training our youth for nobler living and loftier citizenship as long as the head of an American university unblushingly constitutes himself glorifier in chief of a system of commercial piracy? What moral training, moreover, are we giving to our youth as long as a college president is suffered to lead in the accursed apotheosis of success however fatal the price which it demands? Of what avail are textbooks in civics to be, while in a neighboring State it is planned to set up in the capital a monument to the memory of the archdebaucher of the political life of that State? Let not that great commonwealth dream of the possibility of civic instruction for its youth as long as it plans to erect *statues* for dead criminals instead of enforcing the *stat-*

utes against living criminals. The Governor of New York—a governor with a conscience and a will—is in himself the best civic training which our State can offer to its youth. High civic ideals and ceaseless effort at realization of them in city, State and national administration will be an infallible guide on the pathway of citizenship and no lesser light is trustworthy.

One word should be said concerning the Greek letter fraternities which have foolishly been permitted to gain a foothold in our high schools. President Alderman tells the story of the college student who, not having carefully listened to the assigned subject of an essay competition, “The Test of Learning,” wrote on “The Pest of Learning.” The Greek letter fraternity in the high school is a pest of learning. When we become alive to the menace of them and sensible to our own power, the high school Greek letter fraternities will speedily pass. They are unfraternal but they are Greek in their magnifying of the arts of pleasure which, Greek letter piety to the contrary notwithstanding, is hardly needed amid the hyper-Hellenistic tendencies of our age.

De Quincey divided books into two great classes—according as these imparted information or endued with power. Let us be slow to accept this fine distinction as valid in the realm of teaching, seeing that information and power are often two sides of the same shield. That which in the getting is information may in the having and the using spell power. The teacher, I admit, is called upon not so much to inform as to form and reform. Every branch of knowledge can be made not merely informing to the mind but formative of character. It were the veriest commonplace to point out how every branch of study may not only increase knowledge but reinforce power. Thus history is ill taught which does not

trace the ascent of man despite a myriad falls and back-slidings, which does not confirm man's faith in human progress upward and onward forever. The science of geography ought to serve in the hands of an enlightened teacher to stay the narrowness and provincialism which take no account of the largeness of life's horizons, which are blind to earth's wider outlooks. Mathematics ought constantly be made to minister to the sense of accuracy of speech and thought and deed. And the nature sciences are in truth ineffectively taught if, though laying hold on primary facts, they do not kindle the imagination and invite its loftier flights.

All this is summed up in the admonition of John Morley touching the need of "a kind of knowledge that not only enlightens the understanding but enriches the character." Our own American sage laid down the same truth when he urged that we make our education brave and preventive. Something of the same thought is hinted at by the hero of Disraeli's story, who tells his father that he left college, "because they taught me only words and I wish to learn ideas."

It is of the highest importance that teaching in the American school be conceived to be opportunity for the greatening of moral power as well as means of spreading information. For one thing, many educators are indicting the entire educational system of the land on the ground of its failure to moralize the nation. That is to say, the moral shortcomings of the people are laid at the door of the school and more especially charged to the omission of the school in the matter of giving explicit ethical instruction. So grave, however unjustifiable, a charge lays upon those who believe in the present day system of education the burden of making our education moral in its purposes and results. Just because we deny

the justness of the above quoted impeachment of the American school, we must do what in us lies to the end that education shall, in the words of Montaigne, make us not more wise but better wise. The secular character of the teaching in the American school affords no reason for its failing to be broadly ethical and even deeply religious.

Many of us will doubtless be moved to echo the thought of Dr. Crooker, "The personality of the teacher is the chief source of moral influence in the schoolroom. The true teacher makes his school a school of applied morals where character really grows." For yet another reason, such as rest their faith in the potencies of the American schools ought to put forth every effort so that, in the absence of formal and technical moral instruction, education become moral in value and in influence, remembering, too, that the pursuit of this aim may serve to desecularize the school in the best sense of that term. Nothing could be more hurtful to our democracy than to introduce religious teaching into the school though ostensibly only for moral instruction or exhortation. Apart from the circumstance that the introduction of religious teaching, which can not in the nature of things long remain nonsectarian, were in violation of the unwritten law of the American commonwealth, such a step would do much to retard if it did not wholly thwart the benign process of unification in the public school, not amalgamation nor absorption, which is bringing our children together in one vast indivisible bond, the children of a score of races and tongues, peoples and faiths. When religious teaching is made an element of the instruction of the public school, the American school, as we know it and as we love it, will cease to be.

For a last and most cogent reason, I would have the instruction given in the public school of moral trend and import. Some years ago, President Eliot severely arraigned the American school, holding that the barbarous vice of drunkenness was an accusation against the reasoning power which the school ought to train. He further alluded to the prevalence of gambling, an extraordinarily unintelligent form of pleasurable excitement, to the gravest crimes of violence committed in great number all over the United States, to the civic corruption and the crowded penal institutions. All of these things he viewed as proofs of the breakdown of the educational system of the land, of its failure to keep pace with life and social development. But is not something more to be said? Do the counts in the above indictment really hold against the public school? Is the public school really answerable for a state of affairs which might be still graver were it not for the beneficent influence of the school? In a word, we are not to charge to the school the faults and failures of our age, responsibility for which must of right be shared by all the coexistent agencies of human well-being, such as the family, the home, the church, the press. While in one sense the school is to be the leader of society, it must needs be representative in another sense of the moral ideals and aspirations of its time. We face again a problem parallel to that involved in civic training. The school, whatever be the power and consecration of its guidance, can not annul the facts of the world without in the mind of the child. The school must aim higher than the ethical level of the age but its moral standards, however high or low, are bound to have the largest part in shaping the instruction of the school, in molding for good or ill the influence of the teacher.

A final reason may be cited in support of the counsel of the school to give moral bearing to every type and manner of teaching. Only if the office of education be interpreted in the terms of ambition and serviceableness, can the final end of education be achieved—intellectual individualization and ethical socialization. It is the business of education to help men to stand alone intellectually and to help men to stand together ethically. Better a truce to education and the passing of the school than that these greaten the tendencies which menace us, intellectual gregariousness and moral Ishmaelism. Education must lead to the intellectual emancipations, which shall inspire a *man* to stand alone, and to the ethical self-constraints which shall impel *men* to stand and walk and work together—intellectually every man for himself, morally no man for himself alone but each for all and all for each.

The demands upon the teacher and by the teacher may briefly be summarized. More should be asked *for* the teacher and *from* the teacher. For the teacher, in the name of the child, I ask all that it does become a State to bestow upon its faithful servants—respect, dignity, honor and such maintenance as is needed adequately to support the men and women who give all in the service of the State. From the teacher, in the name of the child, I ask more, yea, everything that is needed to upbuild and ennoble the State through nobly upbuilding the lives of its sons and daughters.

It was Jules Simon who said, "The nation that has the best schools is the first nation in the world. If it is not so today, it will be so tomorrow." The Jewish masters of other days named a pupil the child of his teacher. They tell the tale of the deputation sent to a neighboring
consult with its guardians. When the messengers

reached the object of their quest they made known their desire to meet with the city's guardians. Whereupon the soldiery and constabulary were summoned. "But," remarked the strangers, "these are not your city's guardians." Next the rulers of the city presented themselves, but, again, it was objected that these were not the guardians of the city. "Who are the guardians of our city?" was asked of the visitors. And these replied, "Your teachers. These are the true guardians of your city and the conservers of its welfare." May this ancient parable serve as spur and stimulus to the teachers of our own day. Heartening and inspiration may they ever find in the summons of Oliver Wendell Holmes to the teachers of America:

Teachers of teachers! Yours the task,
Noblest that noble minds can ask,
Of you the growing mind demands
The patient care, the guiding hands,
Through all the mists of morn.
And knowing well the future's need,
Your prescient wisdom sows the seed
To flower in years unborn.



David Einhorn and Samuel Adler

Address Preached before The Free Synagogue, New York, in Honor of the
David Einhorn and Samuel Adler Centenaries, November 7th, 1909

By EMIL G. HIRSCH

The tenth day of November is marked with red letters in civilization's calendar. It hailed to his work the great Reformer of the Church and for this its connection with the advent of the Monk of Wittenberg it stands out a significant milestone along the path of human progress. And as though this one glory had but whetted the day's desire for more, it lifted into the cradle centuries after Luther's birth, another son of the Fatherland destined and dowered for great things. Schiller in his way complemented the message entoned by the theologian with whose fame his own was to be interlinked in consequence of the accidental coincident of their nativity's anniversary. If these names of world-wide lustre are brought to memory by this month's tenth day's rising sun, we of an historic community whose family records are read and remembered by only few among men, this year have good reasons of our own to set aside the significant date for special observance. In that year, 1809, so wonderfully generous in incarnations of genius and greatness, which welcomed to life's toil and triumph

Lincoln and Darwin, Mendelssohn and Tennyson, Edgar Allan Poe and Cyrus McCormick, Gladstone and Oliver Wendell Holmes and a host of others, our ephemeral tabulating the movements of stars that wheeled into a smaller orbit chronicles the rise of two the light which has not yet been quenched though years have passed since the hour of their disappearance beneath the horizon. Einhorn and Adler, companion travelers the upward path of life, heaved a sharp and shining blade in defense of the right of private judgment. They held aloft the torch of idealism. Einhorn's pilgrimage began on the tenth of November, that of Adler on the third of December, and Einhorn was our Luther Adler our Melancthon. Certainly, when the chimes of the Fatherland, and wherever its sons dwelt, rang in the centenary of the Suabian poet's birth, and touched all Germany to new vision, both these Jewish Germans, standing at or near the half-century divide, had good cause to feel that they, too, had been true to Schiller's ideals.

This week, then, might well confuse us by the wealth of its suggestions. But let us bear in mind that details of biographical chronology and bibliographical curiosity and exactitude so delightful for the anatomist who knows only the methods of the dissecting table, are poor apologies for the tribute posterity owes the great pathfinders. This morning has more vital concern than the conduct of an autopsy. We would get to the very soul of the movement of which they were a "large part." Ours is not the quest for information on the achievements credited to these leaders. Had theirs been no success, still their ambition and intention would be worth inquiring into. That standard which rates men great according as they bequeath to their successors institutions

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the key opening the portals of God's sanctuary was resisted by Huss and his followers.

Schiller's protestations and proclamations that man is free were even in chains he born, were not new declarations of principles and convictions first discovered by him. The sentiment and certainty underlying his announcement has been both the solace and the solicitude of the brightest minds of his day. Yet, it were wrong to deny the men of light and leading importance and influence on the plea that they had predecessors. They are indeed men of "leading." Before their coming, the ship had slipped her moorings. She drifted, with none at the helm. Their advent signalizes the definite conception of the port for which the sails must be set. Before they spoke, vague and blurred were the ideas withal though even in their indefiniteness mighty to disquiet minds and stir them to discontent with existing conditions and to disregard of traditional custom. Their speech focalizes at once the new ambition. It changes mere disregard into reasoned protest. It abandoning the old justifies the abandonment by appeal to facts and thought, while at the same time it urges the creation of the better things which are to take the place of the old.

Our Jewish Reform movement, so-called, illustrates as does the German Reformation or the French revolution the interplay of two factors, the age striving for self-expression and the great men in whom the age's vague yearning and planless drifting take on purposeful decision and crystallize into clear-cut convictions. Both their detractors and their devotees exceed the bounds of reasonableness, when they hold that the movement originated in the malice or the mentality of the great leaders. The seed from which it sprang was planted decades, perhaps centuries, before their birth. It had

sprouted, but left without the nurturing care of the devoted gardener, the growth was wild and rank. To include Mendelssohn among the Reformers or to hail him as Reform's first banner bearer is doing the author of "Jerusalem" an injustice. Popular though this assumption be, it is grounded in a misconception of both Mendelssohn's position and that fundamental to Reform. Mendelssohn opened the gateways to German culture for the Jews of Germany. He taught them the use of the language of the land of their birth. His translation of the Pentateuch spread among the masses not as did Luther's version knowledge of Scripture, but knowledge of German. In its consequences this service ploughed indeed the soil for the reformer. It led the Jew out of his isolation and out of his mental Ghetto. The Moses of this exodus Mendelssohn was. Still his very philosophy is diametrically contrary to that basic to our movement. He was an adherent of the "Aufklärung," a rationalist therefore. Religion for him was a universally human phenomenon. Religion's teachings never transcended the reach of human reason. Religions were equivalent. Such differences as marked them were of no essential potency. Judaism was in sober earnestness no religion. It was revealed legislation. Religion needed no revelation. The effect of this position proved pernicious. The generation immediately succeeding him drank freely from the fountains of German culture. They were stirred by patriotic enthusiasm for German freedom and nation. They had been taught to regard one religion as noble as another, as they had been impressed that Judaism were mere legislation and at that intended for a nation, which they had come to feel was not their own. They were powerfully attracted by the new intellectual life of Germany and

repelled by the mechanical pettiness of the legalism which they had been led to assume to be the sum total of Judaism. Small wonder that they neglected the ancestral practice, and when pressed hurried to the baptismal font. Even those that did not take this final step, simply drifted—for them Judaism had no message. The gulf between their life and that prescribed by the law widened every day. What did the Synagog do to come to their help? What to bridge the chasm? That which orthodoxy always loves to do. It ignored the conflict. As long as it was enthroned the sole and supreme authority, none questioning its final arbitrament, as long as it was the official representative and interpreter of Judaism, it did not stir. Let thousands be lost to Judaism; let many more thousands openly and privately violate the ritual law, what matter? Indifference increasing, inconsistency spreading, apostacy losing by its frequency the character of the extraordinary in the opening decades of the last century, the old Judaism was visibly losing its hold on the minds and hearts of the cultured circles, while among others on a lower level of mentality another saddening though very natural process of degeneracy set in. Legalism adjudges both the moral and the ceremonial to be of equal obligatory force. The history of all religions testifies to the danger always inherent in such equivalenting of mechanical conformity and moral consecration. It never operates to lift the mechanical to the altitude of the moral. The contrary results therefrom. The mechanical is the easier. It soon is rated as the one sufficient factor to the elimination of the other. Rigorous punctiliousness in mechanical observance is held to be not merely the substitute for but the full equivalent of delicacy of ethical feeling and moral scruples. Lying is condoned

by fasting. The cultured drifted on the new sea without compass or rudder. The unlettered wallowed in the quicksand of mechanical piety at the expense and the detriment of their moral sanity. To complete the picture, let attention also be called to the prevalence then as now of eclecticism, that peculiar inconsistency which, without clear principle, chooses according to sweet pleasure one or the other emblem or rite and makes of it its Shibboleth or following the uncontrolled impulses of the emotions clings to this or that custom and vests it with the force of the concentrated extract of religion. Tabloid religion might be another designation.

Reform is clearly a misnomer. It spoke when it found its voice on the lips of Holdheim, Einhorn, Adler, Geiger, Wechsler, Herzfeld, Stein and Samuel Hirsch—the language of the restorer. Mendelssohnian philosophy had practically left the Jew without religion. It to restore to the Jew was the prime purpose of the movement. Life and law had parted company. The synagogue entoned petitions and pointed to expectations which none of the worshippers could utter truthfully and which none seriously hoped would come to pass. The passing of the sacrificial ritual none felt was a misfortune. To declare that residence outside of Palestine was exile, and exile pronounced as a punishment for sin meant an affirmation which was palpably contrary to the true sentiments of the Occidental Jew. Reform, so-called, stepped out and spoke out to bring back the Jew to the synagogue and the synagogue to the Jew, to reconcile life and religion once more. It was aglow with the prophetic passion for righteousness, with the Biblical seers' impatience at ritual regularity passing for the full acquitment of the insistences of moral rectitude and for a sufficient substitute therefor. Reform was inflamed with the zeal to

restore to the Jew his moral conscience wherever it had been lost to him, buried as it was beneath a heap of rubbish and superstition, to resound the call to duty deeper than what was paragraphed in code and could be satisfied by casuistic quibble about the minimum, which the Law would accept as a quit-claim. For be it said, the saddest feature of mechanical legalistic religiosity is its inquiry concerning the minima—compatible with the measure of the Law. Say what one may, romanticism's rhapsodizing to the contrary notwithstanding, Shul'han 'Arukh Judaism is a prosy haggling for the cheapest terms at which to maintain religious conformity. To be "quit of the debt," as the technical phrase runs, is the anxiety and at bargain prices the speculative interest of the conformist.

Once before, the religious spirit had risen in rebellion against this Shul'han Arukh pseudo-religiosity and the moral torbidity which it encouraged under the semblance of piety. Mysticism flared forth a protest against the dry-as-dust matter-of-fact code—recorded and paragraphed quantitative regularity, this astute chase for the minima. This mysticism was at one and the same time the assertion of the soul craving its due and the outcry of conscience insisting on its supremacy. An effort at deepening both the spiritual and ethical energies of Judaism so much neglected by Shul'han 'Arukh Rabbinism was this mysticism, the ethical note in its teachings being clearly the dominant. In the clearer intellectual atmosphere of Germany and of the 19th century, Reform was naturally of a soberer temperament. In theosophic exaltation it did not find satisfaction. But like mysticism it was inspired by the holy ambition to give back to the Jew the religion of ethical consecration. That religion

had been stifled by the casuists. Life and Law had parted company.

Misled by the word Reform, Zunz in a letter quoted with much joy by conservatives, writes: "Let us reform ourselves and not our religion." He juggles with the term Reform. The movement which he criticized aimed at reforming men, whose moral sensibilities could not but be stunted and blunted by mechanical religiosity or the disharmony of their lives with what the "law" prescribed. But to reform religion in this sense of the word was not in the program of the sponsors of Reform. If the term has any applicability to their purpose, it has in the sense of re-forming the eternal principles. These very men had learned from Zunz himself that the forms in which these principles found ceremonial expression had been subject to change, to growth in the onswEEP of the ages. Scholars not of their band had demonstrated that Talmudic tradition and all it inculcated as obligatory had passed through many channels, widening and varying its currents as the days proceeded and that in many matters, Talmudism was a clear departure from Biblical theory and practice. Even the central tenet of Judaism, the concept of the Godhead, other investigators had pointed out, had developed and changed in content and formulation in obedience to the rhythm of changing thought. Zunz again was among the first to see that even the Bible is far from being *one* book consistent in teaching and view throughout. Indeed, he had no compunction to doubt the authenticity of the Pentateuch and the concordance of the Prophets with the demands of the Pentateuchal law. Thus "Wissenschaft" for Post-Biblical practice and thought had justified the thesis that form and principle are not identical. But what about Biblical Judaism? The same distinction ac-

cording these leaders holds good of Biblical religion. The symbol and the thought are differentiated. The symbol is exposed to change. In Einhorn's simile, a mirror to serve its purpose must be clear. When it is dimmed and blurred, it ceases to meet the needs of its users. Life has relegated so many of historic symbols to desuetude, because they failed to convey the meaning of old entrusted to them. Dull mirrors are ancillary to superstition. Mere age is no credential to recognition. Would we again religionize life, we must re-form the symbol, or find new expression for the principle. In this wise may alone be achieved the great work of harmonizing life and "lore." Torah and Law are not exchangeable terms. The Torah is infinitely more than the Law. Paul and Rabbinism identified Torah and Nomos. Reform was under better instruction. The Torah shall inform life. This no Reformer doubted. But for this very reason, every Reformer denied the right of the Law to control life. The new life was entitled to incorporating the Torah into signs of its own creation as clearly as had the old life expressed itself in symbols intelligible to it and enunciatory of hopes, which were near its heart.

This refusal to identify Torah and Law meant a break with consistent old Rabbinic orthodoxy. It rejected the fundamental assumption according to which the Law promulgated by God was the decree of the King, inquiry into the meaning and motives of which was high treason and insufferable. It vindicated to human reason the right to inquire into the meaning of the statutes and ordinances found in the book, into the idea basic to the rite. The underlying thought having passed out of the modern consciousness, the resulting practice lost all justification. But in the cases where

the thought was discovered to be vital, the symbol, however, to have become opaque, the concern was to find a new symbol more adequate to suggest the thought. The moral value both of the idea and the sign was invoked as the final test. The Reformers had good warrant for this method in the insistences of the Biblical Prophets.

We of the newer school may not be so strongly addicted to the theory of the symbolists. Continued research in folklore and folkcustom has revealed the truth that all the practices which were construed as symbols are of non-Jewish origin. They are the universal concomitants and expressions of religion at certain stages of its unfolding. Many of them in their primitive state applied only to the priestly order, others were due to notions which certainly the higher ethical religion of the Prophets did strenuously denounce and abhor. Much rejoicing has been heard in the camp of our conservatives at the contention of Kuenen's successor in Leyden that the ritual of the Pentateuch is older than Prophecy. Let it be this. Even so—and Erdmann is the last to question this,—the non-Jewish maternity, the universality of the ritual elements is all the better assured. The distinctive contribution of prophecy was its ethical monotheism. This the old Reformers would revindicate to Judaism as its own patrimony and free it from the obscuring association and confusion with ritual. We of the younger school proceeding along similar lines derive our credentials from the significant fact that rites and rituals filtered into Judaism from antecedent non-monotheistic and non-ethical cults. For the sacrifices Maimonides had already phrased this judgment. With scholarly research as our ally, and corroborating witness we extend this verdict to all the institutionalism of the Synagog.

In the philosophy of orthodoxy this institutionalism is vested with another significance. It is meant to isolate Israel and thus to keep Israel in a state of preparedness for the return to Palestine. It is expressive of Israel's ultimate destiny and a reminder of and a substitute for the sacrificial and sacerdotal services in the Temple. The passing of this service constitutes the lament of Jewish orthodoxy. Its re-establishment the central hope of exiled Israel.

This view of the nature of this sacrificial polity, Reform does not share. Einhorn with wonderful astuteness establishes its symbolic character. He construes it to have had the very reverse of the significance imputed to it by both Paulinianism and Rabbinism. He shows how by investing the sacrifices with sacramental office, Rabbinism also modified the Messianic ideal in great part. The re-establishing of the Temple is not the ultimate of Judaism's pining. But what is the meaning of Israel's pilgrimage? Punishment for sin, old Rabbinism had said. Einhorn following Isaiah, reads the history of Jew and Judaism in terms of a Messianic duty laid on Abraham's family. Symbols of the return and the merely national resurrection have no place in the Prayer-book or practise of Einhorn's Judaism. The larger hope of a united humanity whose burdens Israel was called to carry and still is appointed to bear must be sounded. The Messianic mission of Israel is central in the teachings of the reform-Synagog. Its symbolism must expose and propose the meaning of this mission. Judaism is preparatory and prelude to the greater glory of "Kingdom come." To every Jew by birth comes the task to prepare this coming; to spread abroad the knowledge of the God whose service is righteousness and love, in whose image man was fashioned, and by whose will

the All leapt into being and is ruled. Judaism is protest against the assumption that man and God are estranged. It is proclamation of man's dignity, proclamation spelled by the lives of Jews, consecrated to God's service which is alone of Righteousness. It is prophecy of humanity's final rise into this life of ethical freedom and fervor.

Much sport has been made of this construction of Jewish history. Many sneers have been liberally bestowed on the dogma of Israel's mission, of Israel's destiny and duty to be a messenger to all the peoples of earth, a sufferer from whose bruises healment might event to all the children of men. Let us for the nonce concede that none of the mortals has right or capacity to lift the curtain from off the designs of God. Or that it is idle presumption to attribute design and plan to the chaotic interplay of passions and blind impulses, of appetite and greed for power and what-not that comprises what we name history. Let us even forget that one who is stirred by the Sh'ma's notes cannot well refuse to interpret both nature and history in terms of purpose. We shall merely inquire into the psychological effect which the dogma may have in the moulding of character. We have learned to apply this test to all the various conceptions and generalizations of theology, science and philosophy. They who are familiar with the trend of modern thought need not be told that the method proposed is that adopted by Pragmatism. In plain language, what is this dogma of Israel's mission good for?

It is plain that it stands for more than the shouting of Sh'ma Ysrael. Were this what it connotes little patience could be shown it. In fact, let us remember what the belief in God's Unity implies. The prophets had but scant concern with theology. Their insistence was on

morality. If God is, then man is intended in the universal plan for a life other than what the brute lives. God and man are the two factors of the Jewish God conception. In this lies its distinctive assertion. The mission of Israel then demands of the Jew not confession, but conduct, conduct expressive of the dignity, the liberty, the responsibility of man, the brotherhood of all men. Israel's fraternity shall prototype that yet to be realized of all the children of men. Suppose this assumption on our part of having been appointed to this task is an illusion. What of it? If that illusion in sober, serious earnestness takes hold of us, we shall be moved to live in a way to bring out the noblest that man is capable of. Leaders in all work, inspirers of all movements, originators of every measure intended to lift man to the high plane of duty and love and freedom we shall be. Impatient of every form of injustice done to others, intolerant of wrong in every sphere, opposed to every form of social exploitations, of predatory wealth and abused power, the Jew shall march in the van of those that battle for justice and virtue, private and social. This ideal is that with which the hearts of the prophets were afire. The claim to a mission of this kind fills the bosom of him who makes it with a new sense of his worth, a new consciousness of his responsibility. It is a source of blessings to him and others. For him it spells service and higher duties. This claim become intolerable only when it is perverted into racial or national pride; or when conduct fails to correspond to its implications.

In this sense, Reform posited this its central construction of Israel's destiny and obligation. Orthodoxy set Israel's experiences to the minor key. Modern materialism has still less understanding for the beneficence of sorrow, the moral power of suffering, the glory of mar-

tyrdom. The resurrection of Israel as one of the many small nations of earth is too "small a thing," to quote Isaiah, to requite the stress and distress of Israel's martyrdom. The whole world is our mission field. In the ultimate rise of all mankind to the fulfilment of humanity is anchored Israel's faith, as from this vision it draws both the courage and the right to continue and preserve its own separate, though international, persistence as the world-wide influence for the nobler ordering of human things and relations on the basis of justice and moral equality and freedom than as yet has been achieved. "A light to the nations" the great seer of the captivity hailed Israel. His conviction is that of the Reform synagog and the Reform prayer-book, with the omission of references to and substitutes for the sacrifices and with the new emphasis on the universal hope and the historic task of Israel, is the expression of this broader and more profound apprehension of God's intentions and Israel's responsibilities.

None of the chosen band of teachers who mounted the pilot's bridge to end the ship's further drifting, was stronger to accentuate this new construction of Israel's history than Einhorn. In him, indeed, the spirit of the prophets seems to have come to life and power again. Zeal for what he had learned to know as truth, fervor for what he felt in the deepest of his soul to be the inheritance of Jacob, enthusiasm for humanity, humble trust and reverent belief in God, in the God who was the life, the power, the Creator of all, who had allowed man to share in His divinity and endowed him with mental and moral capacity to reach out after knowledge of God; splendidly impatient of wrong, not afraid to stand before the mighty and speak to them the burning words of their shame, the friend of the slave, intolerant of hypoc-

ris and arrogance, inimical to every half-measure, make-believe and subterfuge, despising moral cowardice and intellectual dishonesty, Einhorn himself stood forth a missionary of his God, a plumed knight of YHWH, without reproach or blame. His sermons were self-confessions. In them he unbarred his soul. Not vacant rhetorical exercises they. They were the ripe fruit grown on a "tree of glory." Scholarship, both classical and Jewish, reading of wide range, wealth of experience and keenness of insight into human needs, a diction of rare force and beauty, wit and wisdom of exceptional grasp, these were his in eminent degree and happy combination. These vast resources he laid under contribution to make of his pulpit utterances words of power, wherewith to quicken Israel's self-consciousness and sense of holy obligations, to disseminate the right views on man and humanity to liberate minds from error and cleanse souls of selfishness and sin. His prayer-book is indeed the most comprehensive compendium of the teachings of Judaism. To its wonderful appeals the new life responded. The dissonances between the new life and the old liturgy, this new prayer-service dissolved into harmonies of sweet assurance, in symphonic strains, singing of God and Man at one, and Israel, the Messiah, suffering and striving for the speeding of the brighter day of unified and thus redeemed humanity.

More of the calm equipoise of the sage was in Samuel Adler. His was not the fiery temperament. But clear was his eye and deep his understanding. He, a man of wide and varied erudition, was perhaps slower of foot than his more impetuous companion of the combat. Yet, in all essentials and for all essentials Adler, too, took a bold position in the van. His Judaism was not a mem-
ast. It was preparation for and forevision

of the future. Its ethical content and consecration was the distinctive note of all his appeals and teachings. And that by his history the Jew was called to the duty to shape his life in accordance with this ethical estimate of world and man so as to bring others to the recognition of the beauty and sanctity of the ethical ideal and to its realization in ever larger measure in human affairs, Adler would not doubt, as he did not that to prepare the way for humanity was godlier work than to pine for the resurrection of political national independence.

And what is our, their successors' attitude with reference to the convictions and the conceptions of these master teachers? I do not dissimulate the fact that in many, and that essential points some of us late comers openly dissent from the opinions held by the pioneer Reformers. Progress has not reached finality in 1879, the year when Einhorn passed on. Today we find that many symbols which in his time were translucent have grown obscure; that dissonance between life and letter, discrepancy between professed belief and practice are glaringly and painfully patent in fields in Einhorn's days not yet invaded by the harassing conflict. As he diagnosed such discordance to be fatal to all genuine religiosity and detrimental to morality, so we are urged to action by the deep-seated conviction that dissembling of actual conditions and pacting with superstitious slavery to the letter of the law, that pretending to observe as holy what is profaned with easy unconcern is policy bound to attain the very soul and paralyze the very heart of both religion and morality. As these giant men refused to assume the part of the "scapegoat" chosen to represent vicariously in rigid conformity to "kitchen-religion," their congregations, and to insure by proxy

to them what merit there may be in dietary piety, so we refuse to observe vicariously the Sabbath for others and pretend that our preaching to empty pews is expression of religion and effective of moral sanctification. We shall not hesitate to apply to this "symbol" the test the earlier Reformers applied to other "signs" which, in their day, had lapsed into desuetude. We refuse to be content with negative drifting and indifference. We shall not brook the sham or condone the shame of the hypocrisy which robs religion of all vitality by depersonalising it into something which can be observed by Rabbinical proxy. We strike out for positive and personal religiosity. Conservatism was never half as inane in Einhorn's life time as is that Reform today, which episcopalianized and institutionalized, is much in vogue among the mighty—to quote a phrase of Einhorn's, "by the grace of the Dollar." By all means, let us have counter-reformation. This caricature of Reform needs forsooth to be re-judaized. It is Christian in tone and atmosphere. It is "Todtenkultus." It is not Jewish. It has nothing in common with the Reform sponsored by Geiger, Einhorn, Adler and Samuel Hirsch.

Our day, again, has lost predisposition for "universal humanitarianism." Schiller, even in the land of his birth, sings in a strange tongue. Nationalism is now the dominant passion of Earth's children. And Jewry has fallen under its spell, as well. In consequence much loose talk beats the air about Judaizing and Americanizing, new shibboleths which, when analyzed, will fail to reveal the antithesis imputed to them. We shall not concede that Judaism and Americanism are contraries. By all means strive to Judaize. That is also our aim. Judaizing is the most effective way of Americanizing.

— responsibility, human dignity, altruism, these are

the fundamentals in Judaism. They are the essentials in Americanism. But we do refuse to be *ghettoized*. We shall continue to vision of the larger and loftier future which prophecy predicted to be in store for the human family. For us, humanity is larger than nationality; nationality is the means to an end, not the final goal. We insist on ending the deplorable divorce of morality from religion. Prophetic Judaism posits and postulates the identity and concordance of both. For us, as for Einhorn, only he is religious who is morally consecrated. We shall not tolerate the assumption, that one may be "frumm" and still be morally "krumm." But this religious morality is more than conventional compliance with statute and code. It is creative morality. We shall not aureole the man who leaves his God behind when he opens the door of his office in Bank Street, and consults his attorney instead, so as to be sure to escape being indicted. Our religion will not acclaim that man holy who steps with iron heel upon the weaker and despoils them and exploits them and then gives back to the common wealth in charity a portion of the wealth so amassed. We do not hail him saint who observes the Sabbath, let us say, while his clerks are slaving and who, in critical situations of the "market" keeps his ear glued to the telephone to direct the operation of shearing the lambs.

And this opens up another query. Einhorn stands out the dogmatist among the Reformers. We younger men have much greater compunction to phrase the Divine than he had. Adherents of the philosophy of evolution we do not share his belief in the perfection of the first man, his assumption of primeval revelation. We do not subscribe to his position with reference to Moses and the Pentateuch. We do not, as he did, predicate of the

Mosaic day the complete knowledge of God. Revelation is an unending process. The religion of Moses was rudimentary in comparison with that of Isaiah, for instance. We hesitate to define the Divine. And yet, our faith is none other than was Einhorn's. We arrive at it by another route. Many a man shouts "God! God!" and still is godless, while another refuses to lend the Ineffable verbal articulation and is "godful." The great leader of the Ethical Movement, Samuel Adler's illustrious son,—this is our conviction—could have stayed within our ranks without modifying in the least his teachings. His is certainly an idealistic interpretation of life and universe. A Kantian he, for him conscience and morality are not delusions springing from chemical reactions or resultant from social conventionalities. They are of the eternal essences of things, inherent in the "Universal Plan"—a term he employs in his characteristic hymn, "The City of the Light." We have good warrant for saying, Judaism, Prophetic Judaism, is Ethical Culture with an historic background and root, with an added appeal to ethical consecration in the historic consciousness of responsibility, for exemplifying in conduct and character the principles which among men the prophets, sons of Israel, were first to enunciate. Our views on the rise and development of Biblical literature, its relation to our philosophy, are different from those entertained by Einhorn. They are more in concordance with those of Zunz, first and foremost "high critic" among Jews, of Geiger, who more than any other, demonstrated the all-important truth that Judaism produced the Bible, and shaped it with a free hand, the reverse that the Bible produced Judaism and is in authority over it not being admissible.

Yet differ as we may from Einhorn to him we look up, as do men to high mountain peak. The lifted finger of the mountain range points to higher altitudes. On it gleams the morning's earliest blush, and lingers longest the evening's parting kiss—and where the day star has sunk beneath the western horizon, the mountains hooded in white for hours often are ribboned in purple, the "after-glow" tokening the continued flow of light from the solar fountain. Thus for us, the great men, torch-bearers they of the morning, sent into the valley the herald token. Flaming beacons still when the dusk is unrolling its curtain, they beckon upward in the silence and solitude of the night. Their lamp quenched, their lofty pedestal still retains glow and glory to spell for the climbers below and beneath the message of the waiting heights. Einhorn and Adler and the other stars that rose a constellation of power and lustre in Judaism's sky when the nineteenth century was young have run their celestial race and vanished beyond the reach of human eye. And yet they have not gone out of our love. To them has come tribute and recognition. When they lived, they were named heretics. Today, their Radicalism has become the new Conservatism. Orthodoxy even flirts with Einhorn's opinions and cites them to confound the new heresies of this new day. Yes, new "heretics" some of us be. But if we be "heretics" we are dissenters for the same reason and in behalf of the same service, in the same spirit of loyalty, as were they heretics and dissenters who, born in 1809, lived their life so nobly and did their labors so faithfully for the good of man, the re-awakening of the Jew to his Jewishness and to the glory of Israel's duty, and who will be remembered forever as worthy of mention among the great Reformers and the directing personalities of

great Reformations. They wrought that liberty might enlarge and responsibility might deepen among men. Yea, we rejoice in the legacy so rich which was bequeathed unto us by our Luther, Einhorn, and our Melanchthon, Adler, and humbly call ourselves their disciples. Their example shall be our inspiration, their devotion our encouragement.

The Moral Power of the Press

“Meanwhile, see what a pulpit the editor mounts daily. Sometimes with a congregation of fifty thousand, within reach of his voice, and never to such as a nodder even among them! And from what a Bible can he choose his text—a Bible which needs no translation, and which no priestcraft can shut and clasp from the laity—the open volume of the world, upon which, with a pen of sunshine or destroying fire, the inspired Present is even now writing the annals of God! Methinks the editor who should understand his calling, and be equal thereto, would truly deserve the title which Homer bestows upon princes. He would be the Moses of our nineteenth century; and whereas the old Sinai, silent now, is but a common mountain stared at by the elegant tourist and crawled over by the hammering geologist, he must find his tables of the new law here among factories and cities in this Wilderness of Sin called Progress of Civilization and be the captain of our Exodus into the Canaan of a truer social order.”

—LOWELL.

“In a broad sense, a free press is the greatest of all powers of civilization because the highest, the most beautiful, the most beneficent inspirations of human

genius in every branch of literature are made permanently and universally accessible only by the press."—CURTIS.

Two years ago we celebrated the tercentenary of the birth of John Milton, author of an immortal plea for the liberty of the press. One of the great words of John Milton we can never afford to forget: "English is the language of men ever famous and foremost in the achievements of liberty." As a Jewish teacher, I rejoice to recall that twenty years after the appearance of the "Areopagitica," a Jew, Benedict Spinoza, wrote a treatise, *Tractatus Theologicus-Politicus*, which was destined to achieve in part for continental Europe that which John Milton had sought to gain for the English-speaking race. But it was in America that the freedom of the press was fought for and forever won. In 1735, in the City of New York, in the course of the trial of the Zenger case, which enacted the *Areopagitica* into law and, as said Gouverneur Morris, revolutionized America, Andrew Hamilton of Pennsylvania, who defended Zenger on the charge of treason, declared the cardinal principle of the liberty of the press—the publication of the truth is not a libel—the liberty of both opposing and exposing arbitrary power in these parts of the world at least by speaking and writing truth.

The "power of the world," or world-powers, has come to signify the leading nations of the earth. But it may fairly be asked whether there is not a group of world-powers, other than the nations, including the pulpit, the school, the stage, the press. One hundred years ago, it is safe to say, no enumeration of world-powers would have included the mention of the press, for newspaperdom, as late as the beginning of the last century, was a little explored and less exploited world. To-day, if not

leading all the rest, the press is certainly upon a parity with the foremost, far surpasses the stage in extent of influence and is not less potent than church or school as a shaping factor of civilization. About ten years ago, a play, more lurid than lucid, after the manner of the melodrama, was presented on the stage which, though crudely exaggerative and done in the spirit of Kipling's splash at a ten-league canvas with a comet-tail for a brush, did not overestimate the mighty, almost incalculable power of the press in our time.

For an obvious reason, the power of the press is more widespread and pervasive than that of church or school or theatre. Men are not under the constraint of placing themselves under the influence of the pulpit, and multitudes do not save semi-occasionally. The theatre has not wholly overcome the objections of the Puritan-tempered, and is denied the poorest, but the fewest can, in the nature of things, escape the influence of the press, which is a daily visitor of more or less hearty welcome in nearly every home. The cumulative power which results from daily iteration would alone constitute the press one of the chief directive agencies of the modern world.

It is deeply significant that in the century and more of our national life no serious attempt has been made to curtail the freedom of the press, though it has often and perhaps inevitably been in conflict with the men of leading and of power. The wisest leaders of our democracy have urged the primary importance of safeguarding the liberty of the press, which cannot be limited without being cut off, which cannot be regulated without being destroyed. It was in defence of a hero-patriot who later became a resident of New York, that Lord Erskine said in an English court: "Opinion is free and

conduct alone is amenable to the law. . . . Other liberties are held under governments, but the liberty of opinion keeps governments in due subjection to their duties." Earlier still, in 1780, the Massachusetts Bill of Rights had declared that the liberty of the press is essential to the security of freedom in a state. Thomas Jefferson, writing to John Jay of certain evils, had held: "However it is a part of the price we pay for our liberty which cannot be guarded but by the freedom of the press, nor that be limited without danger of losing it." Governor Berkeley was almost prophetic of the New York newspaper, which was among the earliest voices to raise the battle-cry of the American Revolution, No Taxation without Representation, when, writing home to England from Virginia in the seventeenth century, he thanked God that no public schools nor printing presses existed in the colony, and added his hope that they would not be introduced for a hundred years, since learning brings irreligion and disobedience into the world and the printing press disseminates them and fights against the best intention of the government.

When men are frightened by the mob into believing that liberty of thought and speech are inherently mischievous and should not be left without some safeguarding restrictions and limitations, it is well to recall the sagacious word of Cromwell, touching Harrington's "Oceana," as quoted by Erskine: "Let him have his book; if any government is made to stand it has nothing to fear from paper-shot. He said true. No good government will ever be battered by paper-shot." Still more pointed and pungent was the utterance of George William Curtis to a gathering of newspaper editors in New York in 1881: No abuse of a free press can be so great as the evil of its suppression.

Within the last few years we have had two little less than ludicrous illustrations of what the power of the press really is. A notorious criminal lawyer was discharged from a near-by penitentiary and an interview with him was sought by a representative of a New York newspaper. Whereupon the lawyer, lately released from prison, declared very earnestly and not less significantly: "I have made up my mind to have nothing more to do with the papers." Not very long ago a member of the Reichstag of Berlin so far forgot himself as to call the men seated in the press gallery by an opprobrious name. As a result, the reporters refused to continue at their task, and parliamentary business was virtually suspended, for members would not make unreported speeches. Even the Chancellor of the Empire would not deliver an address which had been announced prior to the incident. Finally the member who had made the insulting remark to the representatives of the press was compelled to tender a very humble apology, and Parliament was enabled to resume its business after this drastic and almost dramatic exercise of the power of the press. It may have been the memory of this incident that moved von Bülow upon a subsequent occasion to address a group of journalists in the words:

Der Menschheit Würd 'ist in Eu'r' Hand gegeben
Bewahret Sie.

Let us briefly consider some further illustrations of the real, the terrible, power of the press. Some years ago a Jewish officer of the French army was tried—if the term "tried" may rightly be used—on the charge of treason and condemned by a court-martial of his fellow-officers to the living death of exile. The penalty visited upon him seemed irrevocable until the day on which

the press of France, of Europe, of the civilized world, first learned of the enormity which had been perpetrated not so much against Dreyfus as against the principles of human rights and human justice the world over. From the day that the late Premier of France began to edit the happily named *L'Aurore*, the Dawn, from the day that a glorified journalist pronounced with prophetic power his terrible Philippic against the crime-stained accusers of Dreyfus—from that day the vindication of justice rather than of Dreyfus became inevitable. Nay more, when a Roman journal referred sneeringly to this exaggerated turmoil over a Jew accused of treason, it was the London *Times*, to its honor be it said, which reminded the Roman organ that nineteen hundred years ago another Jew had been accused of treason and that right was right and justice justice now as then.

What the power of the press for good may become is touchingly illustrated in darkest Russia to-day. What of revolutionary impulse and passion for freedom in Russia survive uncrushed are conserved only by reason of the consecration and self-forgetfulness of that group of noble spirits, men and women alike, who conduct the so-called Underground Press which is not printed with inks and oils, but with the sweat and blood of Russia's best. The Czar, "crowned with crime and shame," and his loathsome bureaucracy would be the unchallenged despots over the unhappy millions who still hope for that measure of freedom which the Western peoples ought, within the limits of international comity, help them to secure for themselves, were it not for that gallant company who at the cost of life are doing what in them lies to safeguard the liberty of the press as the people's hope and refuge.

In illustration of the power of the press, one naturally recalls some striking lines of Lowell, in which he tells the story of the life and achievements of William Lloyd Garrison, the liberator. How Garrison began his life in a small chamber, dark, unfurnished and mean

Yet there the freedom of a race began.

adding the lines which are alike warning and inspiration,

What need of help? He knew how types were set,
He had a dauntless spirit and a press.

The need of the press is ever a dauntless spirit. The need of our American democracy is a press with a dauntless spirit.

The press is not to be a mere echo nor even formulator of public opinion. If, forsooth, it be satisfied to play the poor part of reporting and nothing more, it merits the rebuke of that tribune, who pours his heart's scorn upon the press which is at the disposal of the master who pays the best . . . the unprincipled indifference which cries to-day, Good Lord, and to-morrow, Good Devil, as the Lord or the Devil seems to be prevailing. . . . A daily guess how the wind is going to blow and a dexterous conformity to what it believes to be public opinion. The press ought to inform, and thus form, the public mind and the public conscience. The press is the daily teacher of the whole nation, men and women, young and old. The press is a people's university that never shuts its doors and never grants itself or its students a vacation. The gathering and distributing of news is an important function in our civilization, but a press that limits its activities to such functioning is defunct. Nor is it the spirit of judicial impartiality, but of ill-judged timidity that moves the

journalist to accept as valid the counsel: The press can afford only to mount the cresting wave, not go beyond it. The editor might as well shoot his reader with a bullet as with a new idea. He must hit the exact line of the opinion of the day.

Stoutly must the press resist the spreading notion that the newspaper is to be a mere purveyor of news rather than a bringer of intelligence, that its sole business is to be collector and disseminator of news. Such as would limit the press to news gathering and restrict the pulpit to the preaching of the law or the simple gospel by inhibiting it from dealing with any personage more recent than Hezekiah or any event less remote than the fall of Jerusalem would reduce the press and the pulpit alike to futility and impotence.

Nor is it possible daily to present the facts of the world's happenings without some intimation of editorial thought or feeling. A vital personage in command of a newspaper office cannot be opinionless and neutral unless the silence of neutrality be the outcome of barter open or covert. The newspaper cannot, in the nature of things, avoid being the interpreter as well as reporter of the events of the day which in the main it merely chronicles. And interpretation is that projection of personality which in turn clothes the skeleton of facts with opinion and comment. The newspaper that purports to be nothing more than a purveyor of news simply surrenders its views and usually magnifies its crime by basely mirroring the thought of its readers, whether reasoned or unreasoned, wise or foolish, honest or false. There are churches, too, which demand that the pulpit preach from the pew-point rather than from its own viewpoint, but in the pulpit of such churches the man will upon investigation be found to be a phonographic

mannikin, reproducing with unimpeachable fidelity every opinion and judgment of the pew.

A journalist of no mean fame declared some years ago: Proudly I bear the title journalist, for I conceive the journalist to be one who writes the story of to-day in order to make the history of to-morrow. The journalist tells the story of one day in truth, that truth may be the story of to-morrow. The journalist writes of the wrongs of to-day and thus takes the first step on the way toward righting them on the morrow. The journalist writes *of* a day, but *for* all days. If this high ideal of journalism is to be realized, the press must be conducted in a spirit of inflexible fidelity to truth. The press must seek the truth and speak the truth. There is one way of speaking the truth; there are many ways of speaking an untruth, by understatement, by over-emphasis, by implication, by innuendo.

One of the fundamental veracities which is needed in the world of journalism is that attitude which will not be letter-truthful in avoiding an unveracious version of a single occurrence and yet violate the spirit of truth by such emphases from day to day as make the abnormal seem normal. The really damaging untruthfulness in journalism does not so much give an inexact account of a single incident as uniformly give forth the false impression that disorder, indecency, crime are more common than order and cleanness and honor. Ever to make the worse appear the larger part of life is a graver violation of the moral code than upon occasion to seek to make the worse appear the better part.

Surely it ought to give the press pause when it considers the mighty power which lies in its hand, inasmuch as the press concentrates what Professor Ross calls "the moral reprobation of the masses" whenever a wrong

is done, whenever injustice is committed. Sometimes to incite, again to restrain, ever to guide such reprobation is in itself the highest of responsibility which arises out of the power of the press, "the open ear and quick tongue of the world." Power spells responsibility which is the word of aspiration in our age, and if responsibility be commensurate with power, then is the responsibility of the press boundless. It is a moral power to be used for moral ends, power to be used soberly, discreetly and in the fear of God.

The liberty of the press was the first fruit of the love of freedom. Hard won was the victory; never is it lightly to be flung away. Wisely and benignly are the fruits of freedom's victory to be conserved. To-day the press must be the loyal servant, the resistless furtherer of freedom everywhere holding in the noble words of Thomas Paine, "Where liberty is not, there is my country." The press cannot greatly serve the cause of freedom unless itself be free. Moral power is impossible without that inner freedom, which signifies not the absence of restraint from without, but the presence of self-constraint. Nur das Gesetz kann uns die Freiheit geben. If the press would be free to exercise high power it must accept the biddings of the higher law. It cannot really wield and greaten moral power unless it prize inner freedom as the apple of its eye, as the very breath of its being.

That the press may greaten its moral power, the leaders in the world of journalism must be adjured to free themselves from the enslavements of partisanship and sectionalism, from the tyrannies of passion and of prejudice. Above all, the press must be kept free from the enthralling power of money, lest it became increasingly true, as said Lowell, in the Harvard Anniversary Ad-

dress of 1886, that ours is a time when the press is more potent for good or for evil than ever any human agency was before, and yet it is controlled more than ever before by its interests as a business rather than by its sense of duty as a teacher. It may be urged that it takes a great deal of money to conduct a modern newspaper. So does it take a great deal of money to conduct a modern university. It takes a great deal of money to conduct a modern church and still church and university are not businesses and are not named, as the newspaper commonly is, a property. Though large sums of money be legitimately needful for the conduct of a newspaper in our day, the press must be prepared to resist the encroachments of that power, which would add the control of the press to the monopolies which it has already grasped. Still must the press be strong to say to the power of money: Thus far shalt thou go and no further; thou shalt not dollarize my soul.

In the "Enemy of the People," Ibsen denies that "it's the editor that controls a paper," adding sardonically, "No, it's the subscribers." What if neither editor nor subscribers control the paper, and it is the counting room, or, putting it differently, the advertising columns that control the paper! And against this dire possibility it is well to forewarn that we, too, forearm. It is the privilege of the four-legged to go unfoarmed. Curtis is altogether justified in his warning that instinctively the enemies of society aim fraudulently to control or forcibly to silence it. The noble pleader of Massachusetts pictures the Daily Advertiser, of course on the wrong side—respectable, when its opponents are strong and numerous, and quite ready to be scurrilous when scurrility is safe and will pay—behind whose editorials a keen ear can always catch the clink of the dollar.

"Power to sell" was the placard over Isaac Watt's shop. Sometimes one can almost read this announcement over the door of a newspaper office—Power to sell, Power for sale. A paper cannot sell itself without selling out its readers. It cannot surrender without betraying every purchaser. Be it remembered that sale is a term of wide latitude and manifold implications. A sale may often be effected, even though the *quid pro quo* be not gold. The older forms of barter without currency still survive in the atavistically barbarous commerce of our day, which involves the transfer or control of power. A millionaire editor may be impervious to the enticements of cash, but he is none the less purchasable if his price be an ambassadorship or a senatorship.

Woe to our generation if the curse of commercialism should utterly blight the press, if it should come to pass that the press be directed by the greed of vested interests instead of owning supreme allegiance to the moral law—if its final accountability be to the counting-room and not to conscience. The oft-cited excuse for the moral delinquencies of the press that journalism is a business involving the use of capital should never be suffered to obscure the truth that the press stands in the relation of trusteeship to the public it serves. The yellow journal is governed by gold and gold alone; the yellow journal is not the paper that prints all or more than all the news for one cent, but the newspaper, even though it costs two or three cents, which prints some of the news and leaves some of the news unprinted because of orders from below rather than from above.

One might almost say that the peril of the abuse of the press lies not so much in what it gives forth as in what it withholds—that its gravest abuse were the disuse of its power of publicity. The reader can allow for

the bias of an article which he believes to be unfair, but he is helpless in the face of withholding of facts and occurrences at the behest of stockholders or advertisers or any "interests that it is inexpedient to antagonize."

Much fault has been found with the muck-raking tendencies of certain newspapers and magazines. But of what avail were the ferreting out of the iniquities of political and financial life, unless the deterrent of publicity could be wielded against wrong-doers who unite with brazen lawlessness a very genius for escaping the statutory penalties of their acts? No single service of the press during the past century has been higher than the vigor and fearlessness with which for a decade it has searched out evil in high places. The error of overmuch zeal in muck-raking is bound to correct itself in time and its injustices to be righted. But nothing can undo the evil which is wrought by the press when it is silent touching the wrong of corruption in political life or of dishonesty in finance—for which there is no cure as effective as frank, stern, unquailing exposure. Evil-doers are rightly become less fearful of judicial consequences which are too often halting and uncertain and evasible and more fearful of that pitiless publicity which is sure and swift and fatal. Society can protect itself against the conscienceless muck-raking journal; but it is helpless without the protection of a paper whose tolerance of evil money cannot purchase, whose silence touching wrong-doing no earthly power can command. When all is said and done, we need not be fearful of the menace of privilege in our land, provided we are earnestly resolved to resist the bonding of the press, provided that the press, church and university, the three teachers of the nation, are together resolved that they shall remain unshackled and untrammelled by the power of gold.

The heads of the newspapers ought to free themselves from the enslavement of blind and meaningless partisanship. The press ought to be willing to bear a party name, but it ought to be too great to wear a party muzzle. Seeing that the press may rightfully claim the leadership of all political parties, why should it submit to party dictation, the tyranny of partisanship? Let the press lead the political bosses and not be led by them, "who dare to disgrace their party, to expose it to humiliation and defeat, because they count upon the slavery of the party press. . . . If the press does not lead, it is because it chooses to follow. . . . It must dare to disobey party commands." It must show that the newspaper, like the citizen, serves his party best when serving country best, and that it is pledged to serve conscience and country even before party and party bosses. Thus alone can it fulfill the office of which Curtis spoke: "The press in a free land should be the alarm-bell of liberty." The press of our day will have a large part in determining whether the people are to be permanently self-governing or whether the party bosses are to rule for self and pelf.

Newspapers must free themselves from the enslavement of ever siding with the many. An American majority is no more divine than a European king. Against the doctrine of the divine rights of kings and majorities, the press must oppose the doctrine of the rights of minorities however small, of the duty of a man, if needs must, to stand out alone against the world. When passions run high and prejudices are aroused, the press must hold aloft the emancipating and darkness-dispelling torch of reason, opposing the domination of mobs well-dressed or ill-dressed, and daring ever to proclaim the duties of the strong and to urge the rights of the

weak. A gifted figure in contemporary journalism has said that to protect the people from themselves, to point out their errors and to urge their rectification is the mission of journalism—almost as important, it might be added, as the mission of protecting the people from their self-appointed masters.

In his "English Traits," Emerson calls attention to the fault of yielding to the domination of the masses in the first of English newspapers, even before its policy had been disclosed of reaching no decision on weighty matters until after numbers have been ascertained. Sadly he speaks of that English daily, sympathizing with and speaking for the class that rules the hour, which has not a high tone, but an imperial tone. If it only dared to cleave to the right, to show the right to be the only expedient . . . Genius would be its cordial and invincible ally, for no journal is ruined by wise courage.

In no single sphere can the power of the press for good be made to tell more effectively in our day than in resisting the passions of the multitude when the multitude cries for war. Here it becomes the business of the press patiently to seek to educate and guide the many, aye to pit itself against the brute power of the multitude when the multitude madly clamors for war. Nothing could be more unworthy than the persistent attempt of the Anglo-German press during the last years, led by the London *Times*, to foment war between England and Germany. Lord Rosebery rightly said that the responsibility of the press both in England and Germany should be realized by that press and they should not lash both nations into a state of soreness which some day may produce the gravest dangers to European peace.

It were fitting to award the Nobel prize for a term of years to the real peace-makers and peace-keepers, the

editors of such newspapers, American and European, as are striving most earnestly for the perpetuation of peace. Some years ago, on the day when the Pan-American Congress was being held at the capital of Brazil, the American representative made a plea for Pan-American peace and amity, which is destined to live in the annals of peace literature. On the same day a prize fight was held in a Western city—two vulgar rowdies surrounded by an army of well-dressed lookers-on. The press of the following day contained a minutely detailed account of the prize fight and a very brief report of the epochal address spoken at the Pan-American Congress.

The peace our own nation seeks is not the peace that can be secured by warships, but the peace of international justice and comity that can be safeguarded only by the spread of the American ideal. One nation conquers another and the peace that follows conquest is but an armed truce between wars. The late President of the United States and his Secretary of State determined to release an Eastern nation from the payment of the balance of an indemnity owing to these United States, and this self-conquest means lasting peace. Peace through warships means the rule of gold—the right of might. Peace through the triumph, with the help of the press, of the American ideal of justice and brotherhood tokens the triumph of the golden rule which a Jew preached nineteen hundred years ago—the might of right.

It was high counsel, which the poet offered to the men who are the arbiters of the fortunes of the press:

A wondrous and a mighty thing it is,
For it is clothed in liberty and light, * * *
Ye who sit throned the Joves invisible
Use the mighty weapon well * * *
And ever let its radiant bolt be hurled
Against the giant ills that still bestride the world.

The Mystic Element in Religion

Address delivered by Claude G. Montefiore, at the Free Synagogue, June 5, 1920

"Whom have I in heaven but Thee? and there is none upon earth that I desire beside Thee."

It is one of the most famous sentences in one of the greatest Psalms that I would like to place at the head of my address to you this morning. The great Psalms are great enough to be used as texts and pegs again and again. And what is more, they are great enough not to be spoiled for any of us because the ordinary preacher uses them for his purposes, and makes a grand utterance serve as the starting point for a very poor sermon. So I will not be afraid lest I spoil the Psalm for any of you, but I will proceed boldly upon my way.

The sentence then which I have in mind is the 25th verse of the 73d Psalm, and runs in the ordinary translation as follows: "Whom have I in heaven but Thee? and there is none upon earth that I desire beside Thee."

Now the first thing that I want to say about this sentence, or rather the assumption with which I start, is that the writer of the Psalm, and of that particular sentence, was *sincere*. He meant what he said. He may not always have felt as he felt when he wrote that Psalm. A poet does not always feel as he feels at the moments of his highest inspiration. But for the time being he was sincere. The words, "There is none upon earth

that I desire beside Thee," were not put down as an elegant tag, or as a telling piece of rhetoric. They have given the impression to an immense number of readers that the writer was in simple earnest: he meant what he said. He had a feeling about God which he tried to express in words; and the words did not go beyond, were not more than adequate for, the feeling.

That being so, or that being assumed, may I, then, ask this question? How far have those words been felt, how far are those words likely to be felt, by the descendants of the Psalmist to-day? Or, to come nearer home, have you and I ever felt as the Psalmist felt, when, under the inspiration of the moment, he was driven to compose those words. I do not say: have we ever felt *exactly the same* as he felt, because I hope I am not rude when I say that we are lesser men than the Psalmist, and that to the measure and intensity of *his* feeling it is quite impossible that we should attain. But have we felt along those lines? Or let me put the question a little more searchingly and trenchantly still. Let me ask: do we even *wish* to feel along those lines, do we really think it were better for us if we did? We may admire the verse when we read it, but I cannot help believing that most of us admire it in an outside sort of way and without much inward sympathy and comprehension. The verse occurs in the Psalms, and the Psalms occur in the Hebrew Bible, and the Hebrew Bible is our especial property and product, and therefore doubtless it is an excellent verse, and the sentiments it contains or implies are quite Jewish, correct, irproachable. But suppose we had for a moment forgotten that the words were in a Psalm; suppose a Christian friend read them out to us together with their environment: "Yet I am continually with Thee; Thou hast

held my right hand. Thou wilt guide me with Thy counsel, and afterward receive me to glory. Whom have I in heaven but Thee? and there is none upon earth that I desire beside Thee. My flesh and my heart fail-eth; but God is the rock of my heart and my portion forever." The Christian friend reads out the passage to us, and we suppose that it is taken from some Christian meditation or prayer. What should we say? I come as a stranger among you, and I do not know what *you* would say, but I think I do know what many Jews in my country would say, and it is something like this; they would say: "It is a fine passage, but to tell you the whole truth, it does not greatly appeal to me. It is rather vague and visionary. It is rather too other-worldly for my taste. Judaism is a very practical religion, and my religion is also of a practical kind. The author of the passage you have read to me was, I should say, a sort of mystic. Now, I do not understand, and have no sympathy with mysticism. Judaism is opposed to mysticism. It is a very practical religion."

Would anybody in this hall give the same sort of answer? If many Jews in New York are like many Jews in London, I may assume that many would. My rejoinder is my sermon to-day.

The supposed answer of the London Jew implies that mysticism is unpractical, and affirms that Judaism is opposed to mysticism. Both implication and affirmation are false. Mysticism is not necessarily unpractical, and Judaism is not necessarily opposed to mysticism—not opposed, that is, to all and every mysticism, but only to *some* mysticism, which is a totally different thing.

I will not attempt to define mysticism. It would be a task too difficult for me. But if that intense inward apprehension of the divine, that vivid sense of the divine

nearness, that eager conviction of communion, that immediate and profound certainty of the divine reality and the divine worth, in comparison with which nothing else is either completely real or absolutely valuable—if all these things which may be asserted of the great passage in the 73d Psalm, constitute, or, at any rate, are a big part of, mysticism, then I make bold to declare, not only that Judaism is not opposed to mysticism, but that neither Judaism nor any other great religion can get on, or can be thoroughly healthy, without mysticism and without mystics. In opposition, you observe, to those who would seem to imply that mysticism is an unhealthy by-product or aberration of true religion, I hold that for a religion to be at its best, some mysticism is imperatively required.

Now this does not mean that we ought all to be, or that we all can be, mystics. It does not mean that we are to pretend to possess, or even fully to understand, sentiments and feelings and ideas which we do not possess or fully understand. But it *does* mean that we are not to pooh-pooh them. It does mean that we are not lightly to dismiss them. It does mean that we are to treat them humbly, respectfully, reverently, and even that we are to *try* to appreciate them.

For take this illustration: We cannot all be men of science; we cannot all appreciate the highest forms of art; but unless we are very one-sided, we all admit that human society is incomplete, and even unhealthy, unless it contains men of science and those who provide, and those who appreciate, the highest forms of art. It is not otherwise with religion. Unless a religious community contains some people who can honestly appreciate, and to some small extent, re-echo and personally appropriate the words of the 73d Psalm, it is not in as healthy a condition, religiously, as it should be. It is like

a community where there were no universities and no higher forms of art. Not everybody can go to the university, or reach to the knowledge which is taught there; but the *whole* community is the poorer for the lack of universities; the *whole* community is the richer for their presence. And so with mysticism and mystics. The whole community is the poorer for the lack of them; the whole community is the richer for their presence.

Moreover, mark you this. What the big theoretical scientist is to the practical chemist or doctor, that is the mystic to the saint. If you have no mystics in your religious community, you will have few or fewer saints. Now ill betide the community in which there are no saints. A religious community without saints would be like a community of nightingales which had lost the power to sing.

We have to recognize and remember that all good things have their perversions, their excesses, their caricatures. Liberty has its perversion, but we are not going to denounce and despise it, because it can degenerate into license, or even become a sort of inverted slavery. Rather do we remember and appreciate the old and hackneyed saying: "Corruptio optimi pessima corruptio." We will not forego or ignore the best, because its corruption may be the worst.

And this, too, we will recognize and remember, namely, that there are many sides, and many aspects, to religion. These different sides or aspects are never, perhaps, quite balanced or harmonized in any particular religion at any particular time. They are never, perhaps, quite harmonized and balanced in any religious community, and they are never, perhaps, quite harmonized and balanced in any individual member of that community. Yet none the less are they all necessary for

religion as a whole; none the less is it necessary that they all find expression in communal life and in the religious life of individuals, if the particular religion is to flourish and grow, and to be healthy, powerful and profound. Each of these sides or aspects may be over-emphasized, caricatured, perverted; each may be cultivated to the unhealthy exclusion of the others, but yet none of them, for all that, can safely be neglected or despised. I will not attempt to enumerate what these sides or aspects of religion are. I will, however, just for purposes of illustration and for the special ends of this sermon, pick out quite unsystematically one or two of these aspects, and then speak of that other special aspect which seems more closely connected with mysticism and with sainthood.

All Jews are familiar—though perhaps now-a-days that is a rash and too inclusive assertion—with the institutional aspect of religion—religion as expressed in forms, ceremonials and rites, whether carried on by the individual at home, or by the community in public worship. We shall all agree that, while we may well have too much of forms and ceremonies, while a too mechanical insistence upon them may easily lead to a perversion and degradation of religion, yet that no religion can wholly dispense with them. We may agree with Penn who said, “The less forms in religion, the better, since God is a spirit,” but even as Penn admitted that “no visible acts of devotion can be without forms,” so we too must yet more readily admit that outward actions and ceremonial forms are upon this earth a necessity for inward religion. As man is a combination of body and spirit, so must his religion be a combination of the inward and the outward, of the symbol and the truths which are symbolized.

Again, we should allow that religion has to take thought of the three divisions of time: the past, the present and the future. Especially an historical religion like Judaism can not, and does not, neglect its relations and connections with the past. It must preserve the thread of historic continuity. Yet just as urgent, and even more urgent, is the claim of the present, while by no means to be neglected is our hope for, our vision of, the future. How to adjust properly the sometimes conflicting claims and needs of these three divisions of time may greatly tax the ability and the tact of the wisest amongst us. Nevertheless, though one section of Jews may think too much of the past, another too much of the present, and a few, here and there, too much of the future, we should all allow that *some* consideration must be paid to all the three.

And now a word about an aspect of religion of still greater and more central importance than its institutions and forms. An aspect, for Judaism at least, of still greater and more central importance than any other, for this aspect is specially Jewish, specially associated with the life-work and inspiration of its greatest and most original teachers. By this aspect I mean the relation of religion to morality. We know that, in its beginnings, religion was not very closely associated with morality. It is the glory of the Hebrew prophets to have brought about an indissoluble union between the two. "I desire love and not sacrifice." "Let justice roll down as waters and righteousness as an everlasting stream." Righteousness in the life of the individual, righteousness in society, righteousness in the State, yes, even righteousness in the dealings of one State with another—all this is what Judaism declares is of the essence of *its* religion, of the *essence* of religion alto-

gether. To pursue righteousness, to execute social justice and compassion, to redress the wrong, to promote social well being—such actions and such efforts, wrought for the love of man and for the love of God, constitute the greatest portion of Judaism and of religion. The kingdom of God upon earth, not in a distant heaven, but planted in our very midst, in New York, London or Berlin, that we are told, and rightly told, is the great ideal of our own faith, as it is the great ideal of all healthy and sensible religion.

I agree, it is the great ideal; and it has tended, and it tends, to the reinvigoration of religion in our own days that this ideal has been so earnestly set and kept before our eyes. You in New York know this as well as, perhaps better than, we in London. Even our very congregational life, the corporate life of each congregation or synagogue, must be kept keen and pure and strong by organized social service. There is no true service of God which is not expressed and made manifest in the service of man.

But even this great aspect—this peculiarly Jewish aspect—of religion can be exaggerated. Even *this* aspect can be dwelt upon too exclusively to the injury of religion as a whole. For religion though indissolubly to be wedded to morality (or social righteousness) is not morality. It is not even morality at a white heat. It is not morality touched with emotion. It is not righteousness turned into a passion. The religious life is not merely expressed in the moral life. It has a field of its own. Even as a mere question of time, it would not be true to say that a man who did good actions all the twenty-four hours of the day had lived the perfect religious life. Religion is not so identical and commensurate with righteousness that it needs no time of its own.

In other words, and here we come back to where we started, if religion needs a great deal of righteousness, it also needs a little bit of mysticism. It requires not only its righteous heroes, but its spiritual saints. I think that Jews run some risk of forgetting this, and liberal Jews, or radical Jews, or reform Jews (whichever word you prefer), perhaps not the least of all.

It is urgent that among liberal and reform Jews there should be as high a percentage, not merely of good men, but of saintly men, as among our orthodox brothers. If that is not the case, Liberal Judaism will infallibly become poor in quality, however excellent in doctrine or intention.

Liberal Jews, for obvious reasons, have had to lay the greatest stress upon the intimate association of religion with morality. They have had to preach with emphasis the high and true doctrine of Amos and Hosea. They have had to protest against the over-emphasis of forms without spirit, of ceremonies without meaning, of rites without faith. If religion is not mere morality, still less is it outward forms and ceremonies, still less is it observance from which the faith, which sometimes made them vehicles for true religion, has now, through the growth of knowledge, been forever withdrawn. Yet mark those words, "which sometimes made them vehicles of true religion." Our forefathers produced their mystics through *many* forms; we have to produce ours through *few* forms. Such is the plasticity of mysticism that it can come through many forms, or through few forms, or even through no forms at all. That temper of mind, that attitude of the soul, which made the author of the 73d Psalm cry out, in complete sincerity, "Whom have I in heaven but Thee? and there is none upon earth that I desire beside Thee,"—that attitude and temper

can be, as I say, trained and evoked through many forms, or through few forms, and, occasionally, from no forms at all.

Will you bear with me yet a little longer if I try to explain another reason why, I fear, we have not as many mystics as we ought? Another reason, in other words, why modern Judaism, whether radical or conservative, tends so often (unlike ancient Judaism) to become one-sided. It is this. The Jews are a small minority living among a big majority. Hence they tend, on the one hand, to imitate, but, on the other hand, to oppose. The doctrines which Christianity is supposed to inculcate with especial vehemence are the doctrines which Judaism is supposed most emphatically to combat. It does not matter so much that Jewish teachers have often been very one-sided and exaggerated in their estimate and representation of Christian doctrine, but it does matter very much that, in their opposition to what they supposed to be Christianity, they have often misrepresented and contracted their own Judaism. It does matter that they have tended to exaggerate one aspect of Judaism, and to ignore and shut their eyes to other aspects which our forefathers (for example, the Rabbis of the Mishnaic and Talmudic periods) spoke about and emphasized without hesitation or difficulty. Let me give you an illustration of my meaning.

Christianity, Jewish writers and teachers tell us, sets an exaggerated estimate upon the future life in relation to this life. It teaches other-worldliness. It despairs of this life and this world. This world is a vale of tears; it is ruled by the devil. The only good of it is to enable us, through sorrow and suffering, to reach the endless beatitudes of the world to come. The kingdom of God is the kingdom of heaven. Its locality is *there* and not

here. Let us remember our mortality, our imminent death, and set all our hopes upon the life beyond the grave.

Now there is *some* truth in this statement about Christianity, but there is also a good deal of exaggeration. But the hurt of the exaggeration is that it has led to exaggeration *upon the other side*. For Jewish teachers tell us that, in opposition and contradistinction to Christianity, Judaism teaches that the kingdom of God is to be realized upon earth. Judaism is opposed to asceticism, and bids us enjoy, in moderation and self-control, the good things of this world.

We are not to keep thinking of death. We are not to keep thinking how we can save our souls and attain to heaven; we are to keep thinking how we can do good to our family, our neighbor, our country, our race. This earth is not a vale of tears; so far as tears still flow, we must seek to still them. Live a useful, happy and virtuous life on earth, and let God look after your destiny when that earthly life is over. We are not to withdraw ourselves from the world, but to live *in* the world, and so to leave our own little corner of earth a trifle better than we found it.

That, they tell us, is Jewish doctrine; that is Judaism. Truly, it *is* Jewish doctrine; and it is good and wholesome doctrine, so far as it goes. But it is not the whole truth, and it is not *complete* Judaism. It is one side of Judaism only, and it is that one side put with some one-sidedness before us. It is not quite the *whole* Judaism of the old Rabbi who said: "A morsel of bread with salt thou must eat, and water by measure thou must drink; thou must sleep upon the ground and live a life of trouble the while thou toilest in the Torah." It is not quite the *whole* Judaism of that other old

Rabbi who said: "Better is one hour of blissfulness of spirit in the world to come than the whole life of this world. For this world is like a vestibule before the world to come; prepare thyself in the vestibule that thou mayest enter into the hall." It is not quite the *whole* Judaism of the still older teacher who said: "Whom have I in heaven but Thee? and there is none upon earth that I desire but Thee."

A tendency exists in modern Jewish teaching to represent Judaism as an exceedingly simple and reasonable religion. Here, too, the teaching has grown up out of opposition, half conscious and half unconscious, to supposed characteristics of the rival faith; and here too the teaching is sound and true, so far as it goes, but it is not the *whole* truth, and, when pressed and squeezed, it may easily lead to grave one-sidedness. Judaism is such a simple and reasonable faith, I used to be taught! It lays stress on action and conduct and character rather than on complicated and metaphysical dogmas. Its essence is contained in the famous prophetic utterance: "What doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justice, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God." He does not require you to believe subtle and complicated dogmas about His own being. Just believe that He is One, and that He is good, and no more on the side of *belief* is required of you. All the rest is justice, compassion and humility. What can be more reasonable, what can be less mysterious? And observe: the prophet's demands relate to this world, not to the next. No subtle mysticism; no other-worldliness. Sound common sense, and yet the noblest morality, the purest religion.

But, oh, my friends, be not deceived. You can never *have* God, and be rid of mysticism. Still more:

you can never think about life at all, and avoid mystery. If your religion has nothing mysterious about it, how can it be true even to what you see and hear, still less how can it be true to that which IS and must be, but which you neither hear nor see?

About man himself, is there nothing mysterious? Man in his growth and his history, man in his greatness and littleness; man in his sins and his virtues; man in his likeness and unlikeness to the beasts from whom, perchance, in bodily genealogy, he sprang? Is there nothing here for awe, for wonder, for a thrill even of apprehension and of terror? And life itself! Life in its lowest forms, life in its highest; its source, its implication, its condition? Is it all so simple, so reasonable? And we, my friends, are not merely men and women, but Jews and Jewesses. We *dare* to say we believe in God: in God, the *supreme* mystery, if also the most perfect light. Can common sense attain to, and commune with, God? Can the mere *understanding* apprehend Him? Is the idea of God so simple, so easy? God, the distant, but also God the near; God without, but also God within; the good God in spite of evil; the *caring* God in spite of suffering; the *perfect* God in spite of sin! Is it the mere *logical* understanding which can perceive Him and hold Him and love Him; is it not rather the *spiritual* understanding of the saint?

Common sense will not bring us to the best relations, to the most intimate communion, with the unseen Father. For this we need just that spiritual insight, purity and fervor which go with, or rather are developed from, a capacity for awe, for wonder, for reverence.

This world is not a mere common sense world. It is not a mere world in which there is nothing more, as it were, than happiness or unhappiness, than justice or

injustice, than cruelty or compassion. Great and important as all these things are, there is still *more*, and if we shut the windows of our soul to the *more*, we are robbing ourselves of a portion of our manhood and of our birthright. There is the beauty of holiness, there is the apprehension of the unseen, there is, in fine, that sense of mystery which culminates in what we half inadequately call the knowledge of God.

Nor let us forget that Judaism teaches that this life is not the end. If you dismiss the other world, you will not—so Judaism asserts—*properly* appreciate this world. Not merely *prepare* thyself in the vestibule for the hall, but *remember* the hall in order to appreciate and understand the vestibule. We must be keen on this life, yes, attached to it, eager to *do* the best for it, and even to *make* the best of it, but that is not enough. We must be *in* it, but not quite *of* it. We must recognize its poverties and falsities as well as its wealth and its values. We must recognize that, in one important sense, for us, who are, above all, spirit, the material is just dirt and emptiness in comparison with what is really ours, and with what really counts and what really matters. We must not only be *attached*, but *detached*. We can think of death too much, but we can also think of it too little; and if we believe in another life at all, it seems to me perfectly ludicrous to suppose that this belief is to have no influence upon our estimate of this life or upon the formation of our *characters*, or upon the *character* of our deeds.

This life is not a vale of tears. I agree. But neither is it a vale of roses. It is, at any rate, a vale of strangeness, with infinity behind and infinity before. A vale of strangeness, of bitter sweet, a vale of yearning and of wonder, a vale of mingled sorrow and happiness, a

vale of cloud and of mystery, lit up by a light which presages of a still more wonderful beyond. It is not a vale of tears, but it is a vale of solemnity, a riddling vale, the key to whose meaning is held and given, as we believe, by the greater reality, and the deeper mystery, whom men call God.

We have souls, my friends, to feed as well as bodies, and, if the dangerous distinction may be momentarily used, even as well as minds. The simple, the common sense, the reasonable,—all these are excellent and needful, but the soul requires something more, something vaster, more profound.

Thus religion, and this is my last point, has its own sphere, its own feelings. And so, if I may express myself a little oddly, religion needs its own *time*. You cannot get on properly unless you leave a certain time for thinking, meditation, worship and prayer. The proverb, “*laborare est orare*” is, like most proverbs, a half truth only. Social service, committees, visiting,—all necessary, are excellent, but they are not a substitute for, or identical with, *prayer*. “All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy,” we say in England. “All work and no prayer may make Jack an unspiritual boy,” to whom the deeper voices of the universe speak not, for his ears are closed. He will never learn to understand what the Psalmist was even driving at when he exclaimed: “Whom have I in heaven but Thee? and there is none upon earth (upon earth, mark you) that I desire beside Thee.”

But religion, if it has its own sphere, claims also to influence for good all other spheres as well. Its right Jewish influence is not to make men turn their backs upon the world, to make them care less to redress wrongs and increase justice, to make them sickly senti-

mentalists, or namby-pamby vapourers about the higher life. Surely not. Its influence is twofold or threefold, but not the first or the second or the third influence is such as *that*. For what does this deeper and yet Jewish religion do? First, it strengthens and sustains. It makes justice and compassion all the more real and all the more worth while, for it links them up with the divine. It gives to man the daring and heroic temper, the temper for endurance, renouncement, sacrifice. But, secondly, it purifies. It gives to man a certain sweetness and humility; it gives him a certain restfulness and serenity even in the midst of anxious labor and modern hurry. It gives him a certain spirituality and consecration. In a word, it makes it possible for him to know what holiness means, and for himself also to become holy.

And lastly—so we dare to believe in our modern world, the world of progress and of science—it enables him to see things in their right proportions, to see things—even the unseen things—if not as they really are, yet as near to their reality as man may see them. Even the unseen things. It enables him to give their due, and assign their value, to the world of sense and to the world of spirit; it enables him to reach the true *attachment* and the true *detachment*. And it enables him in rare moments, and yet moments which shed their light far and wide, to apprehend, and even perchance to re-echo, the mystic cry, “Whom have I in heaven but Thee? and there is none *upon earth* that I desire beside Thee.”

Third Anniversary Celebration *

February 8, 1910

ADDRESS

By

CHARLES E. HUGHES

Governor of the State of New York

The Governor of this State has many privileges, but it is rare, indeed, that he can take in the North Pole and the Free Synagogue in one evening.

I am glad that I arrived in time to listen to the inspiring words of Dr. Hillis, and I would not have missed this opportunity of giving you my congratulations upon this happy anniversary of your work, and in wishing godspeed to Dr. Wise as he starts upon his journey.

I find it fortunate that no matter what the particular organization may be, or the creed or system of beliefs to which it may adhere, when I am before an American audience, I stand upon the sure platform of civil and religious liberty, and am sure of a cordial response to the presentation of those fundamental principles which, whatever our church, we unitedly accept.

I am here tonight to express appreciation of the work of the Free Synagogue. I am here to say how much I realize our indebtedness to the strong and virile ministry of your leader. We need such men in New York. We

* Owing to the fact that they were not stenographically reported, it has been found impossible to prepare for publication the addresses of the Chairman of the evening's exercises, Henry Morgenthau, President of the Free Synagogue, and the addresses of the remaining speakers: Hon. George E. Chamberlain, United States Senator from Oregon; Rev. Newell Dwight Hillis, D.D., Minister of Plymouth Church, Brooklyn; Rev. J. Leonard Levy, D.D., Rabbi of Temple Rodeph Shalom, Pittsburg, Pa., and Dr. Wise.

need their message, their fire, their capacity to communicate enthusiasm, their ability to generate moral resolution, their devotion to good work, and their sincere desire to be of real benefit to their fellow citizens.

Now, you know every public officer in these days reads Epictetus; and also if he is wise he reads the Hebrew Prophets. We shall never outlive the necessity of reading with studious and careful attention the words of the great prophets of Israel. They comprehended all our experience. What they say is of direct application to our conditions. In their vivid words we read our own problems. It may not seem irreverent, I may say, that my attention was called the other day to the fact that they were fully aware of the dangers and the pleasures and the splendors of the automobile. In the Prophet Nahum, I believe, you will find these words, "The chariots rage in the streets. They jostle one against another in the broadway. They seem like torches. They run like the lightning;" and the question, of course, is: What kind of a bill ought to be passed? But the one thing that the prophet with all his pre-vision emphasizes is the necessity of righteousness as the foundation of the State.

You have made in your race great contributions to science, to every line of honorable effort; and you represent in our community alertness and knowledge and ability in commerce, in finance, in all the varied undertakings of our complex life. But there is one thing that Israel has stood for in the past, and must always stand for, if it is to have its pre-eminent distinction and its place as the teacher of men; and that is, for right conduct, enforced by fidelity to God.

Righteousness becometh a nation.

The longer I deal with questions of public importance, the more convinced I am that after all the problem is not

legislative or distinctly administrative, but a problem of character. There is only one problem before the American people today, and that is the problem of educating our youth, so that our boys and girls, no matter how they are distinguished by belief or political doctrine, no matter what may be their partisan divisions, or their activities in life, are true, honest, honorable, know no lie and are faithful in every relation.

We are developing the mechanism of government to meet extraordinary emergencies. Our vast population, under free institutions, is meeting for the first time in history, the question whether man can with success address himself to such a task. The more complicated our system of government becomes, the more depends upon the men who administer it. Nothing is more fatal than to suppose there is any virtue in systems, or in legislation, as such. We crowd upon our men in great executive and administrative offices, a burden almost too great for any man to bear. We crowd upon them questions, and demand leadership requiring not only accuracy of thought, but splendid powers, by which the mind can actually work, and the body can work under conditions which seem to require more than human capacity can possibly stand. In these circumstances, the fundamental moral question becomes the more important. If we ever develop a great system of regulation and supervision of our activities, we shall find it only a Frankenstein to mock us, if it is not entirely under the control of moral purpose, reinforced by the intelligent sentiment of the community, which constantly holds its ideals of character higher than any possible material benefit that success in any line of effort can secure.

How are we to secure this? We multiply our means of education. This is well, and is a safeguard for our politi-

cal relations. Our boys and girls are better trained than ever before. I would that they knew more about the facts of their actual civic life. I would that their studies were so arranged that they would have less to forget of really useless knowledge, and know something accurately about the places in which they are to make their homes and about their political surroundings. I know of nothing more pathetic than the graduate of one of our great institutions of learning—and it would be pathetic even if he had come from a High School, or, indeed, from an elementary school—who is ignorant of the way in which this municipal government works, and of what are the various functions of government in the City and State and Nation. He is driven like a horse with blinders, seeing only his professional work or his clerical work or the various duties which each day puts before him and utterly oblivious to his citizenship and its requirements save when he occasionally indulges in exuberant enthusiasm over questions he knows little about. I would that there were direct understanding of the facts of our civic life, but none the less we have great reason to be proud of the advances in education. Necessarily in our system of free institutions, religious doctrines cannot be inculcated in our public schools, and should not be. Above all things, we should guard the liberty which has been won at such great cost, but somewhere there must be places where moral power is generated; somewhere there must be institutions where men are taught the sober truths of duty. We cannot rely upon the home for that, although the home, perhaps, is the best school of all if it be a true home. We must rely on the various agencies distinguished by many names, carrying many banners, with the marks of many regrettable struggles, with the remains of unfortunate differences, but

which today really represent a purpose in which the American people are united to energize their youth to right conduct.

I am not in favor of a church or synagogue or any religious body going into politics as such. I have no sympathy whatever with the idea that religious bodies should be organized for that purpose. We cannot carry matters of faith into the political arena as such. But men of faith, who have been nurtured amid associations where truth and love of God and man are inculcated must go into politics and our political life will depend upon the number of such men who can be counted upon to fight valiantly in our civic struggles. I believe here is one of those sources of power. We have manifold distributing agencies. The trouble with most men is that they do not realize what influence they actually have. Very few men realize the influence they exert. As a matter of fact, the man of decent character, the man of sound judgment and opinion, even by the shake of his head, even by his inclination, any little mannerism which suggests opinion, has a wide range of influence upon those who know and respect him. We have these distributing lines running out from our generating apparatus, and I thank Heaven that never before in the history of America have we had so many moral power houses in good working order with distributing lines that do not cut off each other's current as we have in this favored land today.

I am not going to talk about religion and good citizenship, unless I have said something on that subject. I am not going to talk about any particular subject. Something was said by your chairman about religion and politics. Now, there is very little use, in my judgment, in talking about religion and good citizenship,

and religion and politics, or of dealing in abstractions or great conceptions of thought. Religion is nothing save as it is expressed in men, and the one thing above all others is simply to get the average man to do the right thing in his job. That is all there is to it. Ninety-nine times out of a hundred, the man knows what the right thing is to do. It is very rare that he is really perplexed. His pretended confusion generally results from his desire to do something that he ought not to do, and the question always is what is he willing to do without, and what does he prize most—that which he can have for doing something that he ought not to do, or the realization of a clean conscience in an honorable record, no matter whether anybody knows it except himself and his God.

I am not going to speak of any of the tenets which distinguish your organization, but there is a suggestion of freedom about it, a suggestion of democracy about it, which Mr. Elkus had spoken eloquently to you about, which appeals to me. I like the sound of it. While I am not going to get into any difficulties with respect to controversies with which, fortunately, I have no concern—for Heaven knows I have concerns enough—I do thoroughly appreciate what you stand for and what you are trying to do. I have come to the conclusion from such opportunity as I have had for observation that you are led by a man who is governed by but one thought—to make the most of a strong life in this community, for good things.

When a man like that—I don't care whether he agrees with me or not on this or that singular point—is a sincere man, he is a brother worker with me, whether he recognizes it or not; and I am very glad that we are brother workers in more senses than one in this case, and

I express my personal appreciation of the strong support that has been given me from time to time by Dr. Wise with respect to matters in which I am deeply interested. We are all—Hebrews and Gentiles, Jews and Christians—together in this country, and all the divisions which seem so important at times, superficially, really amount to nothing, for we are absolutely dependent not upon each other's fortunes, but upon each other's ideals.

So I give you tonight simply my best wishes for your continued prosperity, and my hope that as the years go on we will in this great city and State, come closer together in our consciousness of unity, getting more and more free of prejudice and the feeling that relates to a lack of conscious co-operation, with an unexampled civic opportunity. Let us never forget that it is not a question for you or for me, the greater part of the time, what anyone else thinks or does, but that the supreme question all the time for you and for me, with respect each to our individual conduct and concern, is what you think and what you do in your life, and what I think and what I do in my life. Let us, recognizing our failings, our imperfections, our constant fall into temptation, the impossibility of our attaining the ideal towards which we strive—let us none the less hold fast, as the surest protection of our manhood and womanhood as it is the only protection of our State and Nation, to the conception of righteousness as enforced by Israel in the past, and, I hope, ever to be illustrated by Israel and by all the Israel and Gentile world alike in the future.

ADDRESS
By
JACOB H. SCHIFF

I do not belong to the Free Synagogue as a regular member, and am only one of its occasional supporters. I believe I have been asked only to come here tonight—I hope I shall not appear immodest in saying so—because I am a representative Jew.

I feel, and have always felt, that I can be a better American, a better citizen of this State and of this Metropolis if I respect my religion, the great religion in which I have been born and raised. And because of this I hailed Dr. Wise when, returning from the great West, he came here again, and this time for good, we hope, to the people among whom he had been raised and who needed him so much as one who was destined to become a great factor for good in our Jewish communal life.

I think I read Dr. Wise aright when I say he returned here because he realized that here, where is the centre of an ever growing population of his co-religionists, where new and weighty problems develop with tremendous rapidity, requiring for their proper solution intelligent understanding, courage and self-sacrifice, he was needed, that his abilities and willingness to devote himself to the cause of his people constituted an asset this large Jewish population stood in need of. I feel certain Dr. Wise particularly recognizes that if our co-religionists, who have been driven from the land of their birth and are reaching our shores in such large numbers, are to be kept attached to Judaism, instead of being permitted, as is frequently the case, to drift from the rigid orthodoxy—which it is almost impossible to maintain under the con-

ditions of life prevailing here—into the ranks of Agnosticism, Atheism and Christian Science, efforts need be made to provide not alone, as I am sorry is done to too large an extent, for the Jewish *classes*, but more so for the *masses* of our people, the facilities to practice their faith in a way adapted to the conditions under which the people live, amongst whom the Jew has thrown his lot and of whom he is bound to become part and parcel wherever his abode may be.

Thus, I believe, the Free Synagogue came into being, a Jewish religious assembly and union, having for its purpose a wider dissemination among the masses of our people of the essence of the faith which, in more rigid forms, has come down to us from our forefathers.

Judaism, indeed, is big enough and wide enough to have room for all, no matter what shade of belief any of us may hold. He who has been brought into the covenant of Abraham and to whom the "Hear, Oh Israel, the Lord our God is the only God" has a living meaning, who carries within him the conviction that the day will come, and labors to bring it nearer when the Unity of God and the brotherhood of man will be universally recognized, is a Jew. To him, whether we be orthodox or more liberal in the construction of our religion, we should extend our hand and give him the opportunity to remain within the fold.

Far too little is, however, being done for the masses of our people in this city, who form one-fourth of its total population, and who are fast becoming an important component part of the people of this country. I do not know whether the proverb "rich as a Jew" ever had its justification, if so, it is different in this generation and in this metropolis. Our co-religionists, who have come to our shores during the past three decades in such large

numbers, and who now form more than three-fourths of New York's Jewish community, are a people who support themselves by their labor, and because this is the case, the Jew has grown into so valuable an addition to our general population. I have said it before, and repeat it without fear of contradiction, no part, if any, of the people of this metropolis have done more, during the past quarter of a century, to make New York commercially great, none have to a larger degree helped to add to the taxable wealth of Greater New York than the so often maligned Russian Jew.

But, more than this. It is these people who, by their votes and otherwise, have forwarded to a considerable degree in city, State and nation, those governmental policies, which have for their ultimate purpose the eradication of the dissatisfaction which, spreading among the masses, can easily grow into a menace to the State. Go into the public schools, go to New York's colleges and universities, and in the front rank of the ardent and able pupils and students you will find the second generation of those whom Russian persecution has brought to our shores, and even whose first generation flocks, after the day's hard toil, into the evening schools, to the public lectures and into the libraries. Such are the Jewish masses. Men, women and even children who labor and toil, but who, while struggling for existence and betterment of position, do neither forget nor stop in furthering the ideals which their religion has implanted into them.

This is claimed by some to be a Christian country.

They who make this assertion insist that the ideals of Christianity are the basis of American civilization. We have no fault to find with this, if it be understood that these ideals are alike deeply rooted in Judaism, in which they have their origin, and because of this fact we are so

anxious that our own faith be not lost but be maintained by the multitude of our people.

We welcome, therefore, any honest effort, which will arouse in the masses of our people the religious spirit and the respect for our faith, which is their most valuable inheritance.

But, my hearers, do not misunderstand me. If I who adhere to more conservative religious principles than Dr. Wise and his associates in the Free Synagogue am with you tonight, it is, as I have already explained, because I wish to give encouragement to every movement, which will make it possible for any and all of our people to retain allegiance to our ancient faith, a faith that has given and continues to give ideals to mankind it still stands so greatly in need of. And may I add this—the margin between liberalism and anarchism becomes sometimes all too narrow. Even liberalism can go too far and may lead so near to the brink of the abyss that unless care and prudence be exercised, many might lose their hold and be lost into it. This is your danger, and against this danger let me warn Dr. Wise and those associated with him in this movement.

Aside from this, I willingly recognize the value and importance of the work which you have in hand, and appreciate the self-sacrifice, which, three years ago, induced Dr. Wise, single handed, to found the Free Synagogue, and to enter upon its ministry. I congratulate you, Dr. Wise, and those who stand shoulder to shoulder with you, upon the firm hold the Free Synagogue has, thanks to your courage, taken already after this short period of its existence upon part of the Jewish masses and let me wish you Godspeed and every further success in your laudable work.

ADDRESS

By

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER, LL.D.

President of Columbia University

I count it a privilege, Mr. Chairman, to be able to stand for a moment in the presence of this noble company of men and women, brought here for a serious purpose, and for high and lofty thought. We are fond, we Americans, of coming together for social festivities that offer us amusement, entertainment and relief from care and thought about the daily toil and task, and it is well that we have formed that habit.

Nevertheless, I rejoice doubly when we can spend an hour or two together, after the day's work is done, in the discussion of the real things of life, and in the consideration together of what we have in common as intelligent, high minded and patriotic citizens of our great American democracy.

As I read our human history, there have come into it three great institutions—three great forms of aspiration, ambition and endeavor that have together shared the dominion over man's higher life.

The first and the earliest of these is what we know, and have so long known as religion—the religious instinct, the religious impulse—the faith-habit in man, which, after all these intervening centuries and all the changes, revelations and progress, still remains the deepest, the most widespread and the most powerful influence known to the human mind and the human heart. Men have founded religious associations and churches to give voice to their religious feelings and their aspirations, and to organize under its impulse and direction for the tasks which it lays upon them.

Next in order came the expression of man's instinct for social and political justice, for order, for law, for the equitable distribution of opportunity, for the regulation of common interest; and as a mode of expression there arose out of this, man's political thought, habit, aspiration, organization. This was the origin of the State and of governments.

Behind both of these and through them, using them as modes of expression from time to time, and at times being used by them, was that other third and human instinct and aspiration, that for knowledge, for truth, for understanding, for the piercing of the walls of the world by the eye of intelligence, that we might get something of it into these minds of ours, and grow by living upon the grasping of it.

Along in the early middle ages men began to come together outside of the limitations of the church and the State, and they began to come together to organize and to give voice to that last named aspiration; and out of it sprang one of the oldest institutions now known among men, the University. It is made possible by a company of loyal, generous, and devoted youth, who, before going out into the serious and strenuous paths of the world, want some measure of preparation, some little insight into what it means to be intelligent, and wish to try to know, to understand, and to solve this riddle which we call the universe and life.

There you have our three great institutions of civilization—the religious, the political, the truth-seeking or knowledge-seeking institution over and above religion and politics—or, if we only had a word for it in the English language, what the Germans have so long called *Wissenschaft*.

My own lot lies and I hope will always lie with this last

type of human institution. As I read its history, I can see it separate itself from the dominion and control of church, from the dominion and control of State, to come out into the dominion of freedom alone.

The secret of our twentieth century hope lies in the persistent and insistent interdependence of these three great types of institution. They have spent two thousand years in establishing themselves and in differentiating themselves. May they not now spend two thousand more in increasing their interdependence, their unity, their common hope and their single purpose.

To exclude the search for truth from religion, which is at bottom truth, to exclude the search for truth from politics, which is at bottom justice, is to deny to both anything but the merest dogmatism as their basis and foundation. Are you afraid to search for truth? Afraid of what? Are you afraid that you are hugging a falsehood? Then let it go. Let the sun shine in on you, and reveal the truth that lies behind. A man who is afraid of the search for truth lacks character. He is of necessity a parasite, hanging on to some organization, noble and splendid perhaps, but more likely to be as the dying ivy. But when we put our roots down in the soil of the search for truth, when we are willing to face the problems of politics without partisanship or bitterness, then we have gone far toward the exaltation of our aspiration and of our sense of justice.

I know something about your leader. A span of years ago he and I were fellow students together, digging for the golden nuggets in the great mine of the world's masterpieces and the world's historic philosophies. He must have carried away from that search something of what human history has to teach—something of what human insight has to suggest, and something of what human

achievement has to record. When he left those studies—the studies to which you will remember the orator Cicero made such glowing and noble tribute in his oration for the poet Archias—the studies, he said, if I remember it, which cheer and delight us at home, the studies which go with us when we walk abroad, the studies which delight our old age, the studies which glorify and enrich our leisure, the studies which help and aid us in the marketplace, and then (in his striking figure) the studies which stay with us through the night, that walk abroad with us when we take our exercise, and that go with us to the country when we seek change and rest—those studies he took with him across this broad continent.

You have heard from Senator Chamberlain the soil from which they grew, and the fruit that they bore, and now we welcome him back—we welcome him back to his place in the front rank of the men who stand for what is best in New York.

There are those who like to point the finger of scorn at this great city. I never feel angry when they do it; I am sorry for them. They so little understand the real, deep life of these teeming millions in one of the three great capitals of the world's civilization. They look on the surface of things, and they see what is bizarre—what is unfortunate—what is objectionable—what is criminal, but they do not look down into the lives of men and women who go daily about their tasks, carrying with them the lessons of true religion, the lessons of sound politics, and some little touch, sometimes all too small, of what the search for truth in the field of intellect really means. This is a marvelous field for men with work to do; the worker here puts his force at the end of one of the world's longest levers. You may work in a wilderness till your dying day, and never touch as many human hearts or reach

as many human lives, or set so much real human power in motion, as you will here in a one hour's appeal to an audience of men and women who have met for a serious purpose. Here is the place to live and work; I rejoice in it. I rejoice in every strong man and every noble woman in this community, who means to make it better, who means to live up to a higher plane, who means to do something for its physical health—who means to do something for its intellectual uplifting, who means to do something for its material and its religious life, and what a splendid thing it is that in this great country, with all that you represent, you are publicly and openly educating yourselves to the uplifting and upbuilding of New York, and to the enriching of the higher life of the nation and of mankind.

Dr. Wise, I congratulate you; as a citizen of New York, I thank you for what you are doing from the bottom of my heart.

ADDRESS

By

ABRAM I. ELKUS

Vice-President of The Free Synagogue

Of the material success of the Free Synagogue I need say but a few words. Beginning but a short three years ago, with a membership of one hundred, increasing in a year to two hundred, in the third year to three hundred, now as you have heard reaching a membership of five hundred, it is indeed a success.

Beginning with an income of some \$7,000 to \$8,000 a year, it now has an income of \$20,000 a year, and I rejoice in saying that fully one-third of that income is given up to the so-called social service of the synagogue.

As to the principles which underlie this Free Synagogue which ought to find some expression here to-night, I can best quote them in the words of its leader when he said, "Its fundamental principles are: first, a free and democratic organization, meaning a synagogue with no pews and no dues; second, a synagogue, the pulpit of which is free and unfettered; and third, a synagogue developing along the lines of progressive and liberal Judaism.

It was said by someone who did not sympathize with this movement that it was not Jewish—it was but an excuse towards Unitarianism. But again the words of its leader contradict that when he said, "The Free Synagogue will be Jewish, loyally, unswervingly, uncompromisingly Jewish in its ideals and practices—in its free and unhampered presentation of Jewish teachings. Jews who would not be Jews will find no place in the Free Synagogue, for we wish to be not less Jewish but more Jewish in the highest and noblest sense of the term."

Beginning with those principles, what has been done? Besides maintaining a service weekly in the home we have hired, the service on that one day of the week which most of us who lead busy lives have the only opportunity to join in religious worship, a service at Clinton Hall in the lower part of New York and the great East Side every Friday night, where either our leader or some man distinguished in the callings has addressed the young men and young women who gather there, a social service, visiting the poor and the sick in the hospitals, the cheering visit, the care of children, the care of those suffering with the dread disease of the white plague, the religious school, and all these things have been done as part of the activities of the Free Synagogue.

I wish those of you who would see what I consider the best work of the Free Synagogue, would go some Friday evening to Clinton Hall, and see gathered there five hundred and as many more as can find standing room in that hall waiting to listen to the words of wisdom, the words of cheer, words of education, from those who go there to speak to them, look into those earnest faces, faces worn with toil, who go there after a hard day's work to get what cheer—what encouragement they can in their dreary lives—that I consider the best work and the highest work of the Free Synagogue.

We began with our meetings in the Hudson Theatre. Then we came to the church building in Eighty-first street. Now, to those of you who do not know it already, it is a pleasure to announce that so large is become the attendance at our services, that Carnegie Hall has been engaged for next season, the largest auditorium of its kind in the country.

Yet, another step in progress has been made. Arrangements have been matured—they are progressing—

by which the Synagogue will soon have its own home. Not a mere church edifice, open for services on one or two days of the week, and then turned over to the care of a non-Jewish janitor, but a building where each day and each night and every hour the incessant activities which have been brought about by our leader will find a home, where every room and every corner will be made of use to benefit, help and to aid our brethren. Who can object to such a work as this? Who can say even if he be as I was, born and bred in the orthodox faith, an orthodox Jew I say I am today, who can say that he objects to such a synagogue, with such purposes, with such aims and with such success?

When I speak of the Free Synagogue, when I speak of its work, when I speak of its aim, when I speak of its success, in this presence, the thoughts, the minds of every one of you turn naturally away from the Free Synagogue itself, and turn to the one man who has made the success of this Free Synagogue. One man, who, by his splendid ability, by his deep learning, by his silver tongue of eloquence, by his heart of gold, have made it a success, one man with whom in many of his beliefs we may differ, with many of whose sentiments we may disagree, yet for whom we all have not alone a deep and high respect, but sincere affection—Stephen S. Wise.

I remember at the inaugural address of this movement, at its conclusion when Dr. Wise spoke of the necessity for such a movement here, he spoke of a battle field, of a battle between the Spaniards and the Moors, and the Spaniards having again and again tried, but unsuccessfully, to attack and vanquish their foes, but were beaten back again and again, and as they stood discomfited, there came riding in haste a young man, who drove among them, asked what was the trouble, and they told

him; then he stuck his spurs into his horse, and said, "Thank God, I have come to do this work." When Dr. Wise said that, he turned to the auditors there and said, "Thank God, I or someone else has come to do this work," and we say to-night, "We thank God that Dr. Wise came here three years ago to do the work of this Free Synagogue here."

But the success of this movement is not due alone to any man or to any set of men. The success of this movement is due to our own ancient faith, the faith that has lived through centuries and will endure and that can never die—the faith in the ideals which the Jewish prophets of old spoke about and wrote about—faith that is summed up in a word, individual righteousness and national righteousness, and it is because of that faith, because of the sincere and the earnest belief in that faith that this movement and this Free Synagogue to-night celebrates this third anniversary amid such successful surroundings.

Theodore Parker: Preacher-Prophet *

Ernest Renan said of William Ellery Channing that he was the George Washington of religious America. If that characterization be correct, it is not less fitting to say that Theodore Parker was the Abraham Lincoln of religious America, its prophet, apostle, martyr. It was the unmatched service of Theodore Parker to the cause of religion in America to have made his great influence felt in the direction of simplifying, rationalizing, liberating, humanizing, moralizing religion. It was not the least of his contributions to religion, as one of its stern and unquailing prophets, to show in speech unafraid that in religion, as in every manifestation of human life and thought, there are elements perishable as well as permanent, transient as well as eternal.

Theodore Parker was a lover of truth and freedom throughout his days; a seeker after truth, the search for which makes men free; a battler for the freedom that enables men to seek truth. What he was he became, and what he wrought he achieved, because he loved the truth,—loved it greatly, sought it bravely, spoke it nobly, and was not afraid. No “hired advocate” was he, but searcher for truth at any price. He said of himself: “As fast as I find a new truth, I preach it.” “All truth is God’s truth, and to nothing but error can it be dangerous.” “We have noth-

* Address given under the auspices of the Lexington Historical Society in the First Church, Lexington, Mass., September 26, 1920, in commemoration of the centenary of the birth of Theodore Parker.

ing to fear from truth or for truth." What Bagehot said of Browning may not less truly be said of Theodore Parker,—“He has applied a hard, strong intellect to real life; he has applied the same intellect to the problems of his age; he has striven to know what *is*; he has endeavored not to be cheated by counterfeits, not to be infatuated by illusions. His heart is in what he says; he has battered his brain against his creed until he believes it.”

Theodore Parker was a lover of freedom, and freedom's champion throughout his days. He, too, like another great son of Massachusetts, that rare being in his own day, and rarer still in ours,—“a Senator with a conscience,”—might have said: “Of course, I am for freedom everywhere.” More than ten years before Abraham Lincoln uttered the historic words of the Gettysburg address, Theodore Parker had said in Boston: “We are consciously, in part, and still more unconsciously aiming at democracy, at a government of all the people, by all the people and for the sake of all the people. We all love freedom for ourselves, one day we shall love it for every man.” He was as truly a liberator in the life of action as he was a liberator in the life of thought of the American people. As one of the great and unforgettable company of liberators, which includes the names of William Lloyd Garrison, wielding throughout his days the sword of the spirit, and John Brown, not less a soldier in the army of the Lord because his spirit moved him to wield a sword of the flesh, Theodore Parker takes rank with the American immortals.

Nothing in the life of Theodore Parker is more truly prophetic in character than the power with which, throughout his days, he labored to break the fetters of the church. What rebuke of the church could be more terrible than his word: “There are two great sects in Christendom, the churches of Christ and the churches of commerce.” Ter-
” was his scorn of churches which money controls,—

"It draws veils of cotton over the pulpit window to color the light that cometh from above. As yet, the churches are not named after men whose only virtue is metallic, but the recognized pillars of the church are all pillars of gold. The pulpit looks down to the pews for its gospel, not up to the Eternal God." The failure of the church in the fifties of the last century was nothing less than tragic. The church faced the supreme opportunity to speak and battle for freedom and it proved unequal to the task. Almost did Theodore Parker redeem the name and honor of the church which, in his day, was sinning against itself and truth and man and God, by defending and even glorifying slavery. Against the Bible, basely misused in defense of slavery, Theodore Parker set the Bible's God. It was the prophet's love of freedom for all men and his abhorrence of the wrong of human enslavement that impelled him to be of that small company of men who furthered the glorious adventure of John Brown. And when John Brown lay in a Virginia cell, awaiting the doom that men's madness was to inflict upon him, this daring soul, Theodore Parker, soon to die in a strange land, wrote to a friend in Boston that the road to heaven is as short from the gallows as from the throne, that no man had given up his breath in a nobler cause than had John Brown.

Theodore Parker was perhaps the first great religious teacher in America, who attempted to link the church of God with a vast program of social reform. He united the worship of the Father with a consecrated endeavor to magnify the service of His children. Theodore Parker saw more clearly than did his age that "the reform and elevation of the perishing class of men must begin by mending their circumstances, though of course, it must not end there," and that we are to expect no improvement of men that are hungry, naked, cold. In other words, his insight and his sympathy together enabled him to understand that

we must not so much mend men's hearts in order to end their woes, as end their woes in order to mend their hearts. He foresaw that the church must set itself to the task of saving men by serving them, and not of serving them by saving them. For him, the yearly activities of the church were summed up in the number of men, women and children who had, through its agency, been delivered from bondage to freedom. The wisest statesmanship and the noblest prophecy are united in his memorable utterances upon the sin of poverty, not on the sins of the poor. He compared poverty with cannibalism, the butchery of captives, and continual war for the sake of plunder and slavery as the relics of the age of barbarism. He lamented "Even here in Boston, there is little of the justice that removes causes of poverty though so much of the charity which alleviates its effects." He demands that the State "extirpate pauperism." This prophet of social reform protests against the criminality of the treatment of the criminal. He declares capital punishment to be homicide with the pomp and formality of law. He urges that the jail be made a moral hospital and that none less than the wisest and most benevolent be set to train up the poor savages of civilization, that the State allow a defending attorney for the accused, that it aid and direct the man after he has been punished by the law and that the only way to reform and elevate the class of so-called criminals is to reform and elevate all other classes.

Theodore Parker was a preacher-prophet, for the soul of a prophet spoke through the lips of the preacher. This God-intoxicated man preached to his own age and of his own age, and therefore he will be heard by the ages. Even if the high-hearted resolve of a small group of men and women had not made it possible for him to be heard in his own day, even if his own age had silenced him, yet would he have been heard by the future that smiles in pity at the

passions and prejudices and bitternesses of the hour and adjudges men by eternal standards. Nothing in all his ministry was more prophetic in character than the courage and constancy and power with which he tested the tendencies and movements of his time by the touchstone of moral principles. Nor did he deal in vague and glittering generalities, but with specific and concrete examples of sin and guilt. He brought the whole great power of his righteous wrath to bear upon those men in high places who were leading his city and his State and the nation in the paths of sin. This "Jupiter of the pulpit" had a voice which was "the trumpet of the truth of God." He knew that "you cannot neutralize nitric acid with cologne water." It seemed unmanly and absurd to him to say "a man filled with divine ideas should have no indignation at the world's wrong. Rather let it be said—no man's indignation should be like his,—so deep, so uncompromising, but so holy and full of love."

Theodore Parker spoke of the evils of his own time, not of the evils of the fifteenth or the fifth century. He spoke of the crimes of Boston and not of the wrongdoings of Babylon. He applied the principles of all time to the principals of his own time. He dealt with political themes because he knew that underlying politics is the essence of morals. He did not believe that religion and politics were to be kept asunder, and when Daniel Webster sought to defend his indefensible support of the cause of slavery in the words, "Religion is a very excellent thing, except when it interferes with politics and then it makes men mad," Theodore Parker flamed forth as a veritable prophet of the Lord, proclaiming anew that "righteousness alone exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people." It is not the interference of religion with politics that makes men mad, but it is madness not to let religion interfere with, purify, ennoble, exalt politics. In

our own day, he would be stigmatized as a muck-raker. He was not afraid of muck-raking, but the muck was very much afraid of his rake.

Perhaps no fairer nor more decisive test could be found of the value of the life and work of Theodore Parker than in the answer to two questions: What have been the gains in the moral and religious life of the century that has passed since Theodore Parker's birth and what part, if any, had Theodore Parker in ensuring those gains for the life of the world?

In the Western world in 1910, we have a new view of God and man and religion and the Bible, and that new view is as largely the result of Theodore Parker's influence as that of any other man. Theodore Parker insisted upon the absoluteness of religion, of which any sect or creed is at best and most nothing more than a passing phase. In answer to Emerson's question, it might be said that here was a prophet of the church of God, who made "man sensible that he is an infinite soul, that the earth and heavens are passing into his mind; that he is drinking forever the soul of God."

Theodore Parker did more than any man of the Western world to help us to claim and to hold the results of the new scholarship touching the Old and the New Testament. We have lost the old Bible as the exclusive channel of Divine revelation, but we have gained a new Bible as one of a multitude of human and imperfect revealings through all time of the Divine spirit. Theodore Parker helped men, as did no other man, to understand that God was in all lands, and that he spoke through his servants in all places and at all times; that he not only spoke, but speaks; that Hebrew and Greek are not his only means of communication; that every people may have its Bible; that every place may have its prophet; that every age may hold communion with God.

Earnestly, determinedly, fearlessly, Theodore Parker set out to maintain that the church must be the leader and inspirer of the race in the holy task of social redemption. Against the evil of his century, slavery, he pitted himself with the strength of a giant. Against the toleration of wrong by the church, he thundered with mighty power. He protested against the degrading place of woman and against the wickedness of the State in its dealing with its erring or fallen sons.

Slavery is no more; woman is being emancipated. On the morrow, an International Prison Congress will further the crusade on behalf of the prisoner. The church is beginning to count at last in the conflict with the forces of evil. This is in some part the work of Theodore Parker. To it he gave his life, and in its continuance he lives on. In the great task of human emancipation, he stood throughout his days by the side of two of America's noblest sons, the heavenly-minded Channing, and the poet-seer Emerson. He was disciple of the one and comrade of the other, and each rejoiced in the kinship.

In a character study of Parker published a year ago, one of the foremost religious journals of the land contrasted the influence of Parker with the greater influence of Beecher and Finney. What of justice can be hoped for Parker from one who calls him "the over-worked preacher and agitator." who alludes to John Brown's adventure as "a disastrous raid," and who, because Parker, in helping Brown, said, "I doubt whether the thing will succeed. But we shall make a great many failures before we discover the right way of getting at it," refers to Parker's as "a kind of leap-before-you-look philosophy quite characteristic of a certain type of radicals."

He speaks of the prosperous Plymouth Church which Beecher left behind him and Oberlin College by Finney founded, and he adds, "The congregation of Mr. Parker

disappeared at his death; the 28th Congregational Society no longer exists, and the only material monument to his name is the Centenary Edition of his works." The answer to the statement that Parker's congregation disappeared at his death might be given in the fact that in America, in Germany, in Japan, and in India, the centenary of Parker has been gratefully and reverently commemorated. Was Emerson wrong in predicting that Theodore Parker would become "a living and enlarging influence," and is this journal right in intimating that the influence of Theodore Parker is disappearing?

Beecher left Plymouth a prosperous and flourishing congregation, but Theodore Parker did something better and nobler yet. So did he stir the hearts of men and inspire the souls of his generation that a multitude of men are ready, because of him, to embark upon new adventures of the spirit which shall land them at the Plymouths of newer worlds. Finney founded Oberlin which stands, but Theodore Parker's work is to be found in the emancipated slave, in the liberation of woman soon to come in the hopefuller attitude toward the curable injustice of poverty, in the holy war against war, in the humaner judgment of the fallen, in the resurrection from the sleep of centuries of a "guilty and complacent church."

What if the 28th Congregational Society, as is half-exultingly maintained, disappeared at his death! There are ten thousand 28th Congregational Societies in these United States, and Theodore Parker is their preacher-prophet. One of this multitude of religious societies in the land that owes much of vitalizing inspiration to Theodore Parker is the Free Synagogue, which the speaker serves as teacher and it is in no sense false to the Hebrew prophets of an earlier day because it would be true to the inspirations of this prophet of the Western world of a later day.

If there has not arisen another Theodore Parker, as he

dreamed there would, who could finish his work, let us dare to utter the high hope that our land in our generation may be blessed by the leadership of men who shall, in some part, be the inheritors of the spirit of Theodore Parker, the spirit that will bid them be true to themselves and true to truth, the spirit that will move them to be unafraid in declaring unto Jacob his sins and unto Israel his transgressions, the spirit that will move them in obedience to the command of God to the prophet to stand upon his feet whether men will hear or whether men will forbear. Then shall men know that the spirit of Theodore Parker has not passed out of the life of the nation, and that there has been a prophet among them. Theodore Parker belongs not to the Unitarian church, not to Christianity, not to Christendom alone, but to the wider and inclusive religion of humanity. He was the prophet of a larger toleration, a wider fellowship, a tenderer love, a higher truth, a diviner humanity, a humaner God.

Elihu Burritt *

Back of every interest and concern and endeavor of the life of Elihu Burritt lay his passion for humanity. He was one of the earliest and greatest humanitarians of the nineteenth century. Nothing human was remote from him; nothing human failed to arouse the interest and to stir the soul of "this most persistent prophet of reform."

It is an earnest biographer of Elihu Burritt, who declares that the purpose which impelled him to master a score and more of foreign tongues was not only a native love of learning, but the profound desire to discover the essential unity of languages and their inner relationships.

He ever sought for unity among men and things. Infinitely tolerant of difference and diversity was he, and yet passionately desirous of furthering that inner unity of the race, which his gift of vision helped him to foreknow would yet come to pass among the children of men.

It was his passion for humanity that moved him to cultivate the study of the tongues of many lands. He wished to speak many languages in order that he could feel at one with many peoples. He sought through the mastery of tongues to multiply the chains that linked him to his fellow-men of every color and speech and faith. To a neighbor he once said: "What a terrible curse that old Tower of Babel was," having in mind the deep truth that the multiplicity of languages has operated as a dividing force among the peoples of the earth.

If only America to-day with its higher learning and education and its ceaselessly multiplying colleges and univer-

* Address delivered at the New England Arbitration and Peace Congress in the course of the Elihu Burritt Centenary Celebration at New Britain, Conn., May 20, 1920.

sities will take to heart the lesson of the learned blacksmith in transmuting learning into service lest learning become barren and scholarship sterile, his life will have been of untold value to the nation.

He hated slavery because he hated wrong. He loathed slavery because he abhorred every form of injustice and wrong and oppression, "for 'tis the good man's part to champion right, and everywhere and aye to smite the wrong." He sought to end the iniquity of slavery by bringing the North to see that it was its duty to compensate the South for the loss it would incur through the liberation of the slave. In this respect, another saw better and more clearly than did he. But his plan was noble though the stars were fated to fight in their courses against the Sisera of Southern slavery, endured and exploited by the little less guilty North.

Elihu Burritt was a pioneer. Thus, his was the first publication in America to devote space to the cause of peace. The League of Universal Brotherhood was one of his noble dreams. In cherishing this ideal, he reflected the spirit of Garrison and Phillips and the seers of his day. But there was something superb in the intensely practical way in which he drafted the plan for the organization of a society that should carry out the ideal of international and universal brotherhood.

Surely this man was a seer who foretold the coming of the day when international tribunals would be erected, such as we have to-day in part in the Hague Conferences, and such as we shall have to an even fuller extent when this present day of mad militarism has passed. "He was high enough in the Providence of God, to catch, earlier than the present generation, the dawn of the day that he was to inaugurate."

He preached the gospel of international ethics, of international courtesy, of international brotherhood. His

Golden Rule did not cease to be a valid and binding measure at the crossing of the national boundary. The great peace congresses of 1848-51 in Brussels, Paris, Frankfort and London, were largely the fruit of his own work. were his achievement. The International Peace Congresses of our own time came fifty years and more after the realizing of the conception of Burritt. If Burritt had done no more than this, namely to present before these peace gatherings the proposal for a congress of nations, he had done that which would have placed his name among the immortals. We to-day breathe cheaply in the common air the things he lived and strove and fought for. And even to-day, after half a century, we are barely ready to embody his dreams in the deed.

As one reads in his autobiography that while soliciting signatures for the calling of the Cleveland Convention, he mowed an acre of land on the fourth day of July, wrote about twenty letters in his barn on the same day, and from day to day wrote most of his editorials in his shirt-sleeves on the head of a lime cask, one is moved to say that he was such a man,—another such man as only freedom knows how to make.

One of the finest things in his life was his building at his own expense not very long before his death, a chapel in one of the streets of his native town which was used for non-sectarian religious meetings. In this simple way, the temple which he builded with the labor of his own hands was to serve as a meeting-place for men of all faiths and to be the embodiment of his long-cherished belief in the possibility of uniting men of differing faiths in the service of God and man. Burritt was a pioneer in a movement which is spreading in our own time, a movement that looks to the widest utilization of the public school. He pioneered in the establishment of evening school courses, not only for study but for profitable entertainment, includ-

ing music and readings. He conceived the plan, and then set to work, this nobleman by the grace of God's own patent, to make the benches and the tables for the school.

If only Burritt's great plan had been effected, what sorrow and tears and agony and bloodshed might have been averted for half a century,—the Franco-Prussian War, the Spanish-American War, the English-Boer War, the Russo-Japanese War, every one of which wars might have been averted upon the basis of reason and adjudicated according to the dictates of honorable justice.

One cannot help contrasting the simple, beautiful, beneficent, blessed life of Burritt with the life of the masterful, imperial Bismarck, his contemporary. The time will come when Germany will execrate the memory of the man of iron, who spilt blood to further imperial plans, and mowed down the nations which stood in the pathway of his ruthless lust for power. Burritt was not a man of blood and iron, he was a man of love and wisdom and gentleness and mercy, and his name is blessed because he blessed the world, because he never spoke a word nor wrought a deed that did not inure to the lasting good of the whole race. Burritt was "one of the great spirits with which God at rare intervals blesses the ages, with hearts so large that for them the world is their country, and every man, especially every oppressed man, is a brother."

The citizenship of New Britain at this hour ought say of its greatest son as James Russell Lowell said of one of our martyred presidents:—"Well may we be proud of him, this brother of ours,—recognized also as a brother wherever men honor what is praiseworthy in man. Well may we thank God for him and love more the country that could produce and appreciate him." At the dedication of the Washington Memorial Arch, George William Curtis said,—
"To the memory of such a character and of such events, we dedicate this monument; but, fellow-citizens, to what does

this monument dedicate us?" The question of the hour is to what shall this centenary commemoration dedicate us, dedicate the community of which he was, and must for all time, remain, a part.

How fitting it were that the town of New Britain, in which Elihu Burritt was born, lived and died, should make an earnest attempt to realize his high dream of brotherhood. This cannot be achieved without effort, but the effort would be supremely worth while. If it be true that there are thirty nationalities represented in New Britain, what a fine experimental station in inter-racial and inter-religious comity your city offers.

Some years ago, I believe that the plan was mooted to establish in the city of his birth a Brotherhood House to be known by his name. I should be recreant to the inspiration of this hour, if I did not solemnly adjure you to do what in you lay to realize this noble ideal. As the fruit of this Centenary Commemoration, let there arise in his and your city a Burritt Brotherhood House, and let that Brotherhood House embody the inspirations and sanctities which illumined the life of him you honor. Let men, whatever tongue they speak, whencesoever they have come, learn within its walls the magic name and mystery of brotherhood. Let it be known throughout the State and the nation and the world that in the city in which Elihu Burritt lived, that in the city that he loved with the ardor of a lover, there stands a house consecrated to the name of brotherhood wherein men are united in brotherhood's name, where men are learning to translate the ideals of democracy and fraternity into life and deed.

Elihu Burritt had the rare power of projecting himself into the lives of others,—not of compressing the lives of others within the groove of his own being, but of putting himself in his neighbors' place, feeling their sentiments, thinking their thoughts, living their lives. It was this

power of projection into the woes and oppressions and tragedies of others that enabled him to become a truly great helper of men. As we look back upon the story of his life, we feel that this man's life spelt victory. He amassed no fortune, he gained no fame, he achieved no power, in the largest sense, and yet his life was illumined by vision, and hallowed by the consecration of his soul.

To Elihu Burritt it was given to have the vision of the future. In two fundamental senses, he was a prophetic figure. His was the insight which enabled him to feel that what ought to be done would yet come to pass, and, moreover, his was that power or gift of speech which moved him to speak the truth to men. He saw clearly and he spoke clearly, and to see clearly and to speak truly are of the essence of prophecy. He had a consecrated imagination, that is, he had consecration plus imagination. Alas, that so many good, earnest, consecrated men and women have no imagination, no power of visualization! On the other hand, many splendidly imaginative men and women lack the divine touch of consecration, do not use their high powers to high ends. The consecration of Elihu Burritt was quickened by imagination, and his imagination was solemnized by consecration.

When Heine died, he asked that upon his coffin be placed a sword, for he said: "I have been a faithful soldier in the liberation war of humanity." To-day, in spirit, we may lay a sword on the grave of Elihu Burritt in memory of the sword he carried throughout his days, the sword with which he smote down the forces making for unrighteousness, injustice, tyranny, and unbrotherliness. Let us lay upon his grave a sword, for he was a brave and unwearied soldier in the liberation war of humanity. While he lived, he sought to liberate humanity. Liberated and redeemed and unified humanity that is to be, honors his memory to-day.

Union Meeting

of

Synagogue and Church

Not in anger, nor in sorrow do we speak to-day. If in anger it were, we should pray, in the word of Shakespeare, that we might be touched to noble anger. Neither in anger nor in sorrow shall we speak, but seek as best we can to set forth the aim of the Union Meetings and, after and beyond that to re-state the fundamental purposes of the Free Synagogue, of which the Union Meetings are no more than an inevitable outcome.

To criticism that is earnest and serious and honest, we seek to make earnest and honest answer. But criticism that is purely personal shall wake no answering echo in this place.

To few or none of the criticisms which have been leveled against the Union Meetings would it be worth while to reply, were it not for the circumstance that such criticisms, while directed in name against our movement, are of such a nature as to be likely to lead to very grave misunderstanding among non-Jews touching the real spirit of the Jewish community in our time. Nor, when the Union Meetings were first planned, was there a failure on the part of the founders to anticipate the criticism that might be offered. But it was alas! vainly imagined that such criticism would be temperate and dignified and objective. Still, though criticism was foreseen, it was felt, after long deliberation, that it was needful in the cause of religion and of liberalism, that is to say, in the cause of Israel, to court such criticism and to be ready to meet it.

Surely no one could respect a man who failed to take a position which he deemed right and valid because of the likelihood of arousing adverse criticism. It may be possible to help to a right understanding of our movement those who have been unable, up to this time to grasp its meaning, but naturally we cannot hope to convince or to enlighten those who do not wish to understand, whose misunderstanding of the aim of the Union Meetings is deliberate and wilful. It were not worth while to give answer to the criticism of the Union Movement if we did not feel that it is our duty to make clear that those utterances are wholly alien to the true spirit of Israel.

If we speak with earnestness to-day, it is because we feel that the attitude of opposition to the Union Meetings nominally makes for the conservation of Jewish life but would actually drive out of Israel such as are unwilling to submit to the prescriptions of its own mediaevalism. In the next place, it would and will, if not earnestly combated, widen the breach between Jew and Christian, and by opposing the spirit of inter-racial solidarity and fostering racial divisiveness neutralize every earnest attempt to establish good-will between Jew and Christian. We have no desire to shelter ourselves behind the refuge of precedent, but in view of the fact known of all men that for a generation Jew and Christian have united from time to time in worship in church and synagogue, viewing the circumstance that the ministry of the synagogues and the churches in our State and in other States has given its hearty support to State Conferences of Religion, which have prepared the way for our own movement, we might, if we willed point to these precedents as the justification for our own action. But we are not unwilling to assume that herein we have dared to be the makers of precedent.

Yes, it is implied, ultimately, after generations or centuries it may be that such Union Meetings as we have instituted may be deemed desirable and feasible, but we

are not ready for them as yet. But if they are to be right in the future, when shall we begin to prepare the way for them if not now? We cannot have the tree unless we plant the seed; we cannot have the golden grain of the harvest unless we plough the ground amid the bleak autumnal winds and plant the seed at the dawning of the springtide. It is the long look ahead that counts for the good and the best in the realm of religion as truly as in every field of human endeavor. Needless to say, we believe the step we have taken to be entirely in keeping with the life and spirit of Israel.

The Union Meetings were not undeliberately arranged. They are the consummation of a purpose that has been cherished for some years and that has been jointly considered since the spring of the year. Having regard to the genesis of the Union Meetings movement, it may not be irrelevant to quote the word of one of the three ministers written to another last June: "I feel as you do that all the great social problems are religious problems and that they must be faced and met from the religious point of view, and that synagogue and church must claim leadership in the march of social progress" and the answer came: "Our purpose, if I judge it rightly, is to emphasize that our modern social problems are at bottom religious problems and must be looked at from the God-point of view."

It cannot be made too clear that our Union worship, important and significant as it is, is only secondary to our primary purpose. That primary purpose is to unite the members of our three differing religious organizations in the consideration of the great ethical, social industrial and civic problems of our times. Having resolved to come together for this high purpose, we felt that as religionists, as branches, old and new, of the great monotheistic fellowship, we ought to assemble under the highest of all consecrations—the consecration of prayer and praise.

Thus, we of the Synagogue, the Unitarian and the Universalist churches have come together not merely in order that we may come together and be together, but that we may stand together and serve together and battle together in furtherance of every high cause which, failing mightily to serve, we would stand convicted of failure and faithlessness.

We have united with the churches of the Messiah and the Divine Paternity in committing ourselves to a program that shall make for the resocialization of de-socialized society, because we would, as has been said have the synagogue and church in the vanguard of the movement for giving to men all the possibilities of a full human life; because we feel that the churches must show how the principles of religion, of justice, of brotherhood, of love bear upon the conditions of work and life of the great masses of the nation. Perhaps the finest statement of the purpose and the practice of the Union Meetings comes from a Christian teacher, who has been a devoted friend of the synagogue from the very hour of its founding. He summarizes our plan and purpose in the words: "The uniting of Jews and Gentiles on the basis of their common faith in God to realize the ideals of the great prophets of Israel."

If one conceive the synagogue or church to be an end unto itself and not a means or instrumentality, if one look upon synagogue or church as a trophy to be cherished and not as a tool to be wielded then one may fittingly object to Union Meetings of synagogue and church which in the face of the great and crying needs of the world of men are saying: "In the past, the church largely forgot to serve the world and remembered only itself. But we would seek to forget ourselves and remember only to serve world which asks for service from those purporting to in the name of religion."

We have said again and again that these Union Meetings are the expression of the faith of the men who planned them, that neither synagogue nor church is an end unto itself, but that in the wisdom and providence of God the church was created and designed to serve a greater and a higher end. So, too, we say that just as the church is indefensible if viewed as an end to be served rather than as a means and opportunity of service, so our Union Meetings are nothing more than a summons to men, an appeal to men, a demand upon men who call themselves Jews or Unitarians or Universalists, to remember that no divine service is worthy of the name unless it move the worshipper to go forth and serve men; that, as was said at the earliest of the Union Meetings, a divine union service must be complemented and fulfilled by human service in unity and fellowship; that the divinest of divine services is the wise and just and loving service of man by man.

If these Union Meetings with what might be called their common service were to be the end of the fellowship of our three communities, we might fitly be convicted of the woeful misunderstanding of the purpose of religion against which our union service means to protest. But the time will come, and it may not be far removed, when together we shall address ourselves to a great task, a task that shall call for united action on the part of all men who accept the sovereignty of a divine purpose and would translate that purpose into equitable and benignant relationships between man and man and people and people. In viewing synagogue and church alike as supreme agencies of human service, we think of synagogue and church not as a fire around which to stand that we may warm ourselves, but as a torch by us to be borne and handed down, a torch that shall cast the light of religion into the dark places of the earth,—illumining once more the enshadowed souls of God's children.

Let us frankly and freely admit that this is a critical hour for liberalism, that liberalism is seriously challenged anew, that it is gravely jeopardized because of its betrayal by those whom personal ill-will moves to repudiate their long-cherished faith. Can we not be liberal and loyal at the same time?—is our question. Lazarus said that the motto of the Jew must be “Treu und Frei.” We believe that we shall either be free within Judaism or that our children shall free themselves from Judaism. If it be urged, as it has been urged, that the God of Israel is not the God of Unitarians nor the God of Universalists. I would answer that my God, the God of Israel, is the God of all men,—the God of Jew and Christian, the God of believer and unbeliever, God of all the sons of men.

Upon one ground alone might the plea be justified that we refrain from entering upon the arrangements which look to the Union Meetings or that we withdraw from them though begun—namely, if they involved aught of surrender or compromise or sacrifice. For this were inexcusable and indefensible. But that this Synagogue should launch upon a course which would involve the surrender in the minutest degree of the organic integrity and spiritual identity of Israel were unthinkable save to those whose favor and good-will we should mourn to merit. A further answer was given in the word spoken at the initial meeting, though not needed, that we respected each other too much to entertain for a moment the thought of conversion, that what we were aiming at was not the conversion of Jews to Christianity, but the unification and concentration of Jew and Christian alike in the working out of the great common purpose of Israel and Christendom, to hallow the world with justice, to bless it with the beauty of holiness and to restore to life's disinherited their rightful heritage of life.

Upon this ground alone were the opposition to our Union Meetings justified. namely, if it were true that we

had given up our own service in order to join with churches in union services; if we had, as has been rumored, arranged to amalgamate our synagogue organization with that of the churches. If it had been necessary so to arrange these meetings that it would have been incumbent upon the Jew to join in worship in which he could not properly have part, if a prayer were offered up in which he could not whole-heartedly join, if a word were spoken which offended his religious sensibilities, then might criticism rightly be urged against the movement. No one has dreamed of proposing an organic union of churches. Nothing could be further from the thought of the men responsible for these Union Meetings. We know that the attempted fusion of religious faiths would lead to spiritual confusion, and that the highest unity of the spirit must ever be found amid the widest diversity of form, that outward uniformity is the death-knell of inward unity. Apart from the compulsion of our respective loyalties we are not unmindful of the values which inhere in historic bonds, and that it were not only morally ruthless but spiritually suicidal to substitute for the separate loyalties of differing historic groups the arbitrary loyalty of a man-made uniformity.

The only criticism that has not been offered thus far is that the services designedly lead in the path of conversion from Judaism to Christianity. The word and the work of a lifetime were a sufficing answer to the charge of deliberate or unpremeditated conversion of Israel. Will any one be so base as to suspect that my associates and friends have entered into this "unholy alliance," as it has been graciously named, in order insidiously to wean Jews away from their own faith and to allure them to the fold of Christianity? For years and for centuries,—we of the house of Israel have been protesting against the attempted conversion of the Jews to Christianity. We have rightly

held,—first, that the Christian was not justified in seeking to convert the Jew as if his were an inferior and benighted faith. We have rightly held that the Jew can be helped to the highest and noblest self-expression only along the lines of his own splendid history, and we have I think, rightly urged that the most important service that could be rendered to our generation was not to convert Jews to Christianity but to convert Christians to Christianity and, I add, whether you assent to my word or not, to convert Jews to that which they are fast losing, if it be not wholly lost—the faith and life of Israel.

Such has been our age-long attitude toward conversion and, as has been said from a thousand pulpits and platforms, not conversion from one faith to another, but co-operation between the disciples of different faiths is to be the solvent of the difficulties of our time. What objection can, in reason, be offered against a movement which, on the non-Jewish as truly as on the Jewish side, repudiates the possibility of conversion, which aims to realize some part of the long-cherished hope of co-operation between Jew and Christian? Have we not the right to ask that the movement be judged not by what its critics think of it but by what we will to make of it? Is it too much to expect that men shall bear in mind the word spoken at the first of the Union services by the minister of the Universalist church? “We do not wish to convert Dr. Wise and his people nor do we expect Dr. Wise hopes to convert us.” And when it became the turn of your minister to indicate the purpose of the meetings, he said in terms unmistakable: “The purpose of these meetings is to convert Jews to Judaism and Christians to Christianity.”

It was no idle word which we spoke a fortnight ago at the first of the Union Meetings when we declared it to be our business to convert Jews to Judaism and Christians to Christianity, to regain Jews for the faith and life of Israel, to reclaim Christians for the teachings and prac-

tices of Christianity. We are not Jews any more than Christians are Christians. "For every Stoic was a Stoic, but in Christendom where is the Christian?" In Israel where is the Israelite? There are sham Jews just as there are sham Christians, not because they do not, like the orthodox, conform outwardly, but because, like the orthodox and unorthodox alike, they do not conform inwardly.

Above all things, we insist upon downright sincerity in dealing with the sacred things of religion. We cannot, for example, understand the position of those orthodox Jews who for centuries have been praying for the restoration of Zion and who look with misgiving, even with terror, upon an attempt to translate their dream into reality and their prayer into achievement. We insist that those Jews, who maintain that the Sabbath should be observed by Americans Jews, shall at least themselves prove that it is economically possible for a Jew to keep the seventh-day Sabbath. We insist that if they prate about *hallowing* the Sabbath they shall not in practice *hollow* it; that, if they really mean what they say about Sabbath observance, they shall concern themselves not with a handful who still vainly think that they can keep the seventh-day Sabbath, but they shall dedicate themselves to the problem, what shall be done to save the Western Jew from becoming Sabbathless? How can we avert the tragedy of the Jew, who gave the Sabbath to the world, being compelled to lead a Sabbathless life? Many, many Jewish toilers work without cessation on Sabbath and Sunday alike and yet give no occasion for concern to the nominal Sabbath-keepers who face in this problem a grave and terrible reality that calls for action and redress.

We insist that they who stand within the Synagogue and purport to cherish it shall be sincere in seeking to apply the teachings of the religion of Israel to the needs of daily life. Let us tear the pages of the Prophet Amos out of our Hebrew Bible; let us say that Amos was mad

when he demanded that justice shall flow like waters and righteousness as a mighty stream, or else let us not forever be indifferent to the wants and woes, the tears and tragedies of the workaday world, and let us do what in us lies to the end that the mightiest hope that man ever permitted himself to dream shall be realized at last and that none shall have a larger place in translating that glorious dream into still more glorious reality than we who are the younger brothers of Amos and Micah and Isaiah.

As for the "Torahless, Sabbathless synagogue," for so we are styled, which synagogue is the true keeper of the Torah,—and neither the Torah-retaining nor the Torah-excluding synagogue believes, as the retention of the Torah implies, that every word and letter was communicated directly and immediately from God to man and that therefore there can be no error or imperfection therein? The synagogue that is wholly satisfied with itself because it has remained loyal to the traditional Torah parchment or the synagogue which has been unconcerned about the preservation of the parchment form but so concerned to conserve its spirit that it would make that Torah at its highest and sublimest the law of life for men,—indifferent to the presence or absence of the "sacred ark" but seeking through the steadfast, unafraid demand that the Torah's teachings of justice be transferred from letters to life, that every home of the nation shall become an ark of refuge and equity, of peace and security for its dwellers? Seemingly indifferent, though in truth mournful over the passing of the precious and historic seventh-day Sabbath we are yet resolved that though the outward form must be surrendered at the behest of resistless economic law, at least the inner purpose shall survive in the jealous and zealous safeguarding of the welfare of the toilers of the nation.

Let us erase from the pages of the second Isaiah the impassioned and sensational appeal for religious unity:

"For my house shall be called a house of prayer unto all peoples." Let us say that Malachi was a traitor when he asked: "Have we not all one Father; hath not one God created us?" Or else, if we are not prepared to brand Isaiah and Malachi as blunderers, let us not stand aghast because a few men, with the concurrence of their congregations, believe that the time has come when not in the despite of religious differences but because of the unity of spirit which underlies these differences, Jew and Unitarian and Universalist can pledge themselves unitedly to further the cause of social justice and national righteousness amid the inspiring strains and under the solemnizing appeal of the Hebrew psalms, that the words of the old masters in Israel be quickened to life at last.

One of the occasions of unrest and of protest touching our Union Meetings arises out of the recognition of the inevitable truth that we are in earnest. The one unforgiveable sin in religious life is being in earnest. Every other shortcoming is reckoned venial by the side of the cardinal transgression of being in earnest. Every intellectual heresy, every moral lapse may hope for pardon, but let him not sue for mercy who has committed the crime of being in earnest in a world in which forms and words and names and terms count for everything. We have already said that the heart of the whole matter is that men who are not in earnest resent every sign of earnestness in others. Men prate about unity and in their hearts is divisiveness; they speak of the social message of the church and upon a manifestation of the desire to carry that message to men unitedly and vigorously, alarm and protest follow. Men prate about the divine fatherhood and human brotherhood and, when in the name of the God of men the God of Jew and Christian, the hands of two religious fellowships are outstretched to us, we are not to grasp them rejoicingly, but are to reject them as if the

acceptance of such fellowship were endangering to the cause of religion.

The truth is that what is really dreaded to-day above all things is not religious liberalism but social heresy; every other heterodoxy is tolerable, but not that. And in the hour in which church and synagogue unite and by their united commitment to the furtherance of the truly fundamental purposes of religion show that they would do what they can in order to redress social wrong and remedy social injustice and prevent social maladjustment and avert social inequity, in that hour they are bound to meet with the ill-will of those who would have the church palter and play and tinker and temporize, but not deal in down-right, vigorous, fundamental fashion with the fundamental needs and tasks of the present social order.

The Union service means, it must be said, that we do not conceive it to be enough for the Jew merely to be a non-Christian. That is what the Jew within and without America is to-day—merely a non-Christian. I would have the Jew be something more than that,—I would that he be affirmatively, constructively, rejoicingly, nobly Jewish. And I would have him prove his Jewishness not merely by rejection of the teachings of Christianity, which rejection does not make a Jew, merely a non-Christian,—but by his affirmation in the life of all that is highest and holiest in the teachings of Israel.

It is a part of a deep-rooted purpose of mine—of ours—resting in turn upon the bed-rock of our understanding and interpretation of the content of the life and faith of Israel. What would I have for Israel? How do I seek my people's good? At the cost of a thousand times the opposition which the Union Meetings have called forth, let it be said, once and for all time from this pulpit, that what needs to be sought for the people of Israel is not great power, not exceptional place, not vast wealth, but that Israel shall be a power for good in the world, that

Israel's shall again be the place of moral and spiritual leadership among the children of men, that Israel shall again and yet again enrich the world in a measure that shall correspond to the greatness of its spiritual bounty to man in earlier days.

Putting it still more concretely. what I seek for my people is not so much that one man in our land shall be elected or appointed to eminent office unless he be, as was the first Jewish member of a Presidential Cabinet, of uncommon fitness and rare aptitude for his post, but that the Jew shall be the finest citizen of the nation and that all Jews become noble servants of the Republic. And, too, while safeguarding the rights of the Jew steadfastly and jealously in every land of oppression, the main business of the Jew in America is not to talk about rights which, because of the genius of the American democracy and the spirit of the American people can never be imperilled, but to insist that the right be done in every political, governmental, industrial and social relation. Let the Jew dare outstandingly, mightily, self-effacingly to stand for the right and there will be, unless we misread the signs of the times, less and less need to demand Jewish rights for Jewish rights can best be attained through the Jew's ceaseless and resistless battle for the right. And if the realization of the ideals of Israel can best and soonest be brought to pass by laboring hand in hand and heart to heart with non-Jews, whether Christian or unbeliever, then let the Jew aspire to be the leader of the world's armies battling for the triumph of Israel's ideals of righteousness and justice.

It comes with scant grace, forsooth, for a particular Jewish group in our own community to protest with violence rather than with vigor against the Union Meetings, viewing the fact that week after week they have urged a union of Judaism and Catholicism. To what purpose? For what end? To the end and purpose as they expressed

it, of combatting modernism—of repelling the growing power of liberalism within the church of Israel and of Rome. And they who, again and again, as has been pointed out in this pulpit, urged that Rome and Israel unite in order to guard synagogue and cathedral against the growing power of liberalism, deny the right of the synagogue to unite with liberal, Unitarian, Monotheistic churches in order that synagogue and church together, far from dis-serving our generation by rejection of liberalism and repudiation of modernism, may unitedly and harmoniously, without sacrifice of integrity or individuality, aim to further the central purposes of religion. We look out upon the world and find to our shame and horror that when in Portugal the standard of liberty is raised, the teachers of the great national church are at once marked for pillage and slaughter, because they have proved themselves to be freedom's foes and the relentless enemies of popular progress. If, then, we unite as we have united, it is because we would save the churches, all of them, church and synagogue alike, from the peril of drifting into a position of indifference to the terrible wrongs and tragic injustices that obtain in the world to-day.

If it be urged, as it has been urged, that the Union Meetings will wean the Jew from the synagogue and surely it ought from the viewpoint of our brothers be desirable to wean the Jew from such a synagogue as our own, we venture to observe that there are scores of young men and young women who are being repelled and alienated from the synagogue day by day because, rightly or wrongly, it is not believed by them to be in earnest, because, unlike some of the awakening churches the synagogue does not seem to them to have a grip upon life's affairs. It is not, as is implied, that we are concerned only with the drifters at the periphery and indifferent to the many who stand staunch at the center and core of Israel.

in making it possible for earnest men and women to

remain loyal to a nascent Israel that has not lost touch with a world of needs and tasks and duties, we believe that we are serving Mother Israel as truly as we would serve her sons and daughters.

Co-operation is the word of aspiration and of practice, too, in our age. Even in the world of affairs the most doctrinaire of individualists are beginning to admit that competition must be mitigated and modified by some measure of the spirit of co-operation. The question is,—shall we co-operate in all things save in the highest? The question is, as a venerable and cherished friend has written, whether one who regards in soberness the fact that synagogue and church face the same problem of leavening a community of which a fourth part are the children of Israel, with the ethico-religious ideals of the prophets of Israel, must not confess that it is too great a task for either to achieve separately as effectively as they can achieve it co-operatively.

Far from accepting even for a moment the dictum that religion must keep men divided one from another, we maintain that we are true to the spirit and the letter alike of Israel in urging that religion ought to be the greatest unifying power in God's world of men. Far from being divided by religious differences, we hold that we ought to be united because of religion. united as one great, indivisible force in striving to realize the common aims of all religions, the central purpose of religion. The only religionists who cannot honestly unite, whether within or without the church and synagogue, as we of the Unitarian and Universalist and Jewish fellowships have united in these meetings, are the men to whom religion and the church and the synagogue mean something less than they mean to us.

But for us it is no longer a matter of choice. Such is the interpretation of the content of the religion of Israel by us of the Free Synagogue fellowship, that we cannot

help uniting with every group of men who stand pledged and committed, as we are pledged and committed to the furtherance of the cause of righteousness and truth. We might compare our differing religious fellowships to the regiments of the armies of a nation, some of them afoot, some of them manning the guns, some of them astride their horses, arrayed in varying colors, but all of them unitedly responding to the irresistible appeal of the supreme purpose which calls them into being and marshals them into action.

As we stand together this day, there comes before my vision another meeting less than a year ago, honored by the company of some of the foremost citizens of the republic. leaders in statesmanship, religion, education, finance. Greatly we rejoiced in that hour, in the coming together of these strong and earnest men. In that very hour, I ventured to remind you that the time might come when some who then stood with us might find it to be their duty to stand against us. If that time should come, as come it may, we must dare to stand erect in the consciousness of the need of service to a great ideal. We may rejoice in the good-will of men, but we must be ready to face their ill-will, their disapproval, even their enmity. I will not say that the hour is come, but know you that never in the life of our Synagogue was the need for true and fearless and unfaltering devotion to our great ideal more needed than in this hour—an hour that calls for devotion, that shall in spirit be storm-proof and faggot-proof.

A Program of Social Reform For a Democracy

We have long had shreds and patches of social reform, but no program. If the cause of social reform is to be furthered, we must have such a program as represents a co-ordination of views, the ordering of the vision of men. If we are to frame a program, we must needs see life steadily and see it whole. Strangely enough, it is the attempt at co-ordination and especially at formulation of the undertakings to reform the social maladjustments of our age that evokes protest and dread.

Social reform is the re-ordering and re-forming of neighborhood relations. A democracy ought to be a magnified neighborhood, a neighborhood upon a vast scale, the vastness of which need not diminish the sense of interdependence and neighborliness. A program of social reform worthy of a democracy is not a task to be potted over by the dilettante. It is not for those who would engage in the skirmish of an hour, or the adventure of a day. It means a life-long campaign for the unwearied of heart and the undismayed of spirit. Social reform is not socialism. It does mean the socialization of the unsocialized conscience of our age. It is a protest against the morally anarchic and anti-social tendencies of our time.

It will not be well with the Republic unless we are wise and statesmanlike enough to enter upon a large program of social reform. Men of large affairs are to concern themselves therewith as they have long concerned themselves with the possibility of arranging with the managers

of political parties for tariff laws that should be most largely profitable to themselves. The shaping of a program of social reform is infinitely more important than the program looking to the conservation of the natural resources of the land. Nothing less than a well-considered, steadfastly maintained social program can put an end to the human wastage and anti-social exploitation which disfigure the life of our times. In the absence of a comprehensive social program we shall continue to shift to the shoulders of *over-worked charity* the burdens which can be borne equitably only by *under-worked justice*.

A democracy, which is but a name for the government of a self-determining people, cannot endure unless men are constantly bent upon enhancing their efficiency in citizenship. Such deterioration as is entailed by national indifference to the welfare of the many, is inevitably preliminary to the impairment and ultimate destruction of democracy. We cannot permanently have a democracy without such a program of social reform as makes for an enfranchised and truly self-determining citizenship. People are not made for governments, but governments are made for the people. Government is *of* the people primarily, and implicitly *by* the people that it may finally and permanently be *for* the people.

Theodore Parker once declared that democracy meant not, "I am as good as you are," but "You are as good as I am." Generous and stirring as is his word, it is not certain that we can make democracy mean just that. But what democracy must mean, and, failing to mean that, is not democracy. is,—whether you are as good as I am or I am as good as you are does not matter,—but it does matter that you shall have the opportunity to have as good and full a life as it is possible for you to attain. Democracy means the realization of the potentialities of human life under the forms of law and within the restraints of order.

Henry Van Dyke has well put it that fair play is what a democracy means, not that every man shall count alike in the affairs of State, but that every man shall have an equal chance to make himself count for what he is worth.

A tendency in the Republic which threatens to obstruct a program of social reform has taken the form in our day of an unusual type of lawlessness. This most dangerous type of lawlessness is quasi-legal in form and therefore doubly insidious and endangering. The lawless sale of "delicatessen" on Sunday is not as serious as the legalized bestowal of pardons on Monday, or the outwardly legal sale of franchises at special rates on Tuesday. The confidence of the masses in the justice of law is impaired when it is felt that the forms of law are sufficiently pliable and plastic in the hands of hypershrewd and not underpaid legal counsel to cover any violation of the spirit of the law. The most dangerous form of lawlessness is that which seeks to win for lawless practices and anarchic concepts the name and sanction of the law. The history of the disenfranchisement of the negro embodies the peculiarly lawless endeavor to gain the warrant and sanction of the law for fundamentally anarchic courses.

A program of social reform worthy of the name is incompatible with another tendency which is rife in our democracy today. This tendency would leave too much to the individual on the one hand, and is prone to place the blame of the many upon some convenient scapegoat. Hero-worship is not bad in itself, but it is very hurtful when it results in an unheroic attitude on the part of the worshippers. It is essentially undemocratic to have left to one individual, however plethoric his purse and splendid his generosity, the pensioning of the college and university teachers of the Nation, with the resultant power of shaping the destiny of every beneficiary institution. What if the

vast fortune which has been dedicated by another individual to the cause of negro education were to be withdrawn tomorrow, would the individual States or Nation collectively undertake this greatly-needed work?

Some months ago, it was announced that former President Roosevelt would discuss with the rulers of England and Germany the possibility of a joint limitation of armaments. The announcement was hailed throughout the nation with great rejoicing, especially by those who know to their sorrow that England and Germany may justly be styled two mighty armed camps. The leading journals of the nation voiced public opinion in declaring that a successful outcome of this plan would nobly crown the great career of former President Roosevelt. Before the chorus of praise had died away, a report reached these shores to the effect that former President Roosevelt had vigorously denied that he had harbored any such purpose. My question is,—if it was wrong in the former President to venture to suggest to the heads of two foreign powers the possibility of limiting armaments, the American people should not have hesitated to register their conviction to this effect. If, on the other hand, as we hold, it would have been the crowning achievement of an almost unequalled career for former President Roosevelt to have used the power of his one-time office, and the prestige of his massive personality to urge upon the European powers the madness of ceaseless piling up of armaments, then ought the American people seek to do that which they rejoiced to learn former President Roosevelt had planned to do. In other words, are we to abandon what might be called the American plan, or are we to persist in presenting it to the conscience of the world, even though that plan be not supported by the authority and personal force of the late President of the United States?

Again and again we find that the many in the Republic are ready to shift to the shoulders of one or a few the burdens which can alone be supported by the whole people. Since the appointment of the recent Governor of the State of New York to the Supreme Court Bench, it is becoming increasingly clear that the politicians assume that with the removal of the tremendous moral power of former Governor Hughes from the State Capital, they will be safe in plotting the defeat of his wise plans to minimize the power of the political machines and their oft-times corrupt bosses. But it is not the part of democracy to fasten its task and burdens upon any one man, however strong and commanding. A democratic people must be greater than its greatest leaders. The restoration of the power of self-government to the people of the State of New York is not the business of one man, though that man be as efficient and consecrated as former Governor Hughes. It is the business of the whole people. It ought to be the constantly cherished ideal of a democracy to further and magnify the power of initiative in the individual but not to bring about the surrender of the prerogatives of the many to a purposeful one or a resolute few.

The reverse tendency is equally unwise and equally undemocratic,—that “scapegoatism” which piles the burden of blame upon an individual. We may rid ourselves of our elected scapegoats but that is a very different thing from ridding ourselves of the evils which we associate therewith. Often our chosen scapegoats are not the cause and creator of the evils we charge to them, but rather their victims. Harmful as may be the public conduct of certain men held in execration nowadays, the important thing is not so much that we shall unmake these men as that we shall remake ourselves. It is ours to make impossible the conditions which have made these sin-laden scapegoats inevitable.

Time was when we rejoiced in the stability of the foundations of the Republic. The time has come for us to recognize that certain foundations may undermine the Republic. It is not well for a private foundation, however wise or sage, to determine what shall be done or left undone in the interest of the citizenship of our democracy. A democracy must not cease to be self-determining, self-governing, self-emancipating even at the behest of ten or one hundred million dollars. No gifts, however great, must secure for their donors, living or dead, immunity from the consequence of moral judgment. A democracy must insist upon the right to judge men and evaluate their acts, irrespective of their gifts and benefactions. A democracy must not suffer so-called benefactions to confound and confuse moral standards.

A program of social reform is the surest safeguard of a democracy. Professor Devine has rightly said that democracy in the merely negative sense of kicking out of kings, the hereditary law-makers, and the aristocracy, is after all a very paltry thing. "The democracy to which we would pledge our faith is the rule of the many with standards." The only national defence worthy of the name is a comprehensive and well-co-ordinated program of social reform. Ceaseless and senseless military preparations are not so much a national defence as an international offending. The true spirit of national defence informs the agencies national and State, which are combating the terrible iniquity of child-labor, underlies the efforts of such organizations as the Consumers' League with its daring national program looking to a maximum ten-hour work-day for women, and the creation of Minimum Wage Boards. Great Britain, Germany and our own land as well, map out naval and military programs covering a score of years. Such national defence as may ultimately result in man-slaying is arranged with prevision. But

who deigns to take the long look ahead in the matter of social reform, which is another name for man-saving and man-serving? What city or state of the Union has mapped out a program of social reform covering a decade?

When such a man as the Chancellor of the English Exchequer eloquently protests against the social or anti-social heresy that poverty is an incurable disease, that pauperism is an immedicable woe, he is thinking, as we are thinking, of the futility and sterility of poverty, not only of the wrongs which make poverty possible, but of the deeper injustices which poverty makes inevitable. A program of social reform that would dare to strike at the needless root-causes of country-wide poverty is not so much bent upon giving men more abundant means of livelihood, as, in the wise word of Canon Barnett, upon giving men the means of more abundant life. Countless may be the workers who are prepared to say, as did a witness to an English commission, "If it only were a living wage. We only want to live." But the workers shall not forever be suffered merely to live. Lloyd George declared in the course of a notable address at the City Temple of London some months ago, "I never realized until I came to administer the old-age pensions the appalling mass of respectable, industrious, independent and proud poverty there is." He omitted to add,—needless.

An ordered program of social reform is needed in our democracy in order that it may have the effect of checking the process which is going on with appalling swiftness of widening the boundaries of the realms of charity. There is infinitely more of so-called charity today than ought to be needful in a self-determining democracy. Too much of charity is a vain attempt to repair the ravages wrought by injustice. A constructive and statesmanlike program of social reform would not only lessen the number of philanthropic and remedial agencies, but would go far to

render unnecessary and even impossible the conditions which, up to the present, continue to extend the field of charity. Nothing could be more false nor fatal than the arbitrary grouping of families into two kinds,—as is commonly done,—the one kind that earns enough to live, and the second kind that does not. Such people as lack nothing more than the capacity for thought and the faculty of imagination lightly assume that nothing need be done for the family that earns enough to live, and, as for the family that does not, it may be commended to the tender mercies of private philanthropy. But no charity reports can annul the fact that charity at best but partly makes good the inadequacy which has been brought about by insufficiency of income. Charity does not and cannot, save in the rarest instances, do more than temporarily restore the social equilibrium that has been disturbed. When lately, after an examination of a mill where little children were employed as laborers, I commented upon the greed and cruelty of the mill-owner I was reminded in his defence that he never failed to distribute turkeys among the toilers in the Thanksgiving season even when turkeys were "high." It is this that moves Masterman in his "Condition of England" to sneer at that variable and random philanthropy which can never be a substitute for social reform, those large organized charities which are less a sign of our compassion than of our indifference.

We need in our own land a program of social reform in order that these United States of America may not be permanently backward in comparison with European countries in the march toward the goal of industrial democracy. Germany has been far more wise and foresighted in caring for its workingmen, in providing workingmen's insurance against unemployment, old age, accidents, disease, death, than have we. Belgium and France have with high statesmanship, taken the lead in a number of the more impor-

tant undertakings of a constructive program of social reform. Denmark has within a generation dealt upon so large and ordered a scale with the problem of co-operative farming that it has achieved veritable miracles of plenty and prosperity for its husbandry. We are sixty years and more behind England in the matter of factory legislation. Before 1850, laws were enacted in England touching child labor which are more merciful than are the statutes of some States in the Union. Alas, that we lag behind! We do not march abreast of European nations, even of those nations which nominally are monarchic and imperial in character, but actually far more democratic than we are.

One of the foremost social workers in the nation has said that the objects of social reform are clearly formulated, its methods becoming crystallized and understood, its watchword efficiency, its half-way station prosperity, its foundation justice. He offers us, though he does not so style it, a program of social reform which is worthy of a democracy, and without which democracy is not worthy of the name. Sound heredity, protected childhood, a prolonged working age, freedom from preventable disease and from professional crime, indemnity against economic losses occasioned by death, accident and compulsory idleness; rational education, charity, normal standards of living, and a social religion. The anti-tuberculosis campaign may be cited as a worthy item of a great social program. But this campaign must not only forbid spitting in the streets; it must prohibit the evil of sweating in the tenements. It must deal with the fundamentals of underpay, overwork, unsanitary housing, malnutrition. A program of social reform must not only protect the worker from death-dealing accidents in industry, but it must save him from the deadly incidents of industry which are to be found in the long hours and the small wage, in over-employment for one season, and unemployment for another.

We urge a program of social reform because we covet for our country the honor that comes not through military prowess and feats of arms, but the honor that comes to a nation which is nobly just to all peoples without its borders as well as to its own people within its borders. We must put away the blundering notion that the truest of patriots is the most irresponsible of national megalomaniacs. It is as true today as it was a hundred years ago that mere bigness unmatched by moral greatness is not to be the making of America. No democracy is worthy of the name unless we can say of it, as did Julian touching Constantine, that it widens the boundaries of the dominion but does not fix the narrow boundaries of the national spirit and the national will.

Speaking upon a similar theme, a great English statesman said not very long ago: "The greatest asset of any country after all is a virile and contented population. That is the problem of civilization. Let us face it like men." In the word of a noble Russian exile, Breschkovsky, to George Kennan, we may not see it, nor our children, nor our children's children, but something will come of it yet. The industrial democracy shall yet arrive. We need a democratized and socialized religion and a religionized and socialized democracy. Knowing as has well been said, that the future has great allies, Americans must dare to be the "Pilgrims of the Invisible." If we dare not be such pilgrims, and if we fail to address ourselves to the high task of working out a large, forward-looking, reconstructive program of social reform, it is for us to remember that the American democracy may well be apostrophized in the word of an unlaurelled English poet to his loved land:

"Shouldst thou one day fall
Justice were thenceforth weaker throughout all
The world, and truth less passionately free
And God the poorer for thine overthrow."

The Safety of the Workers*

This ought to be a fast day of the citizens of New York, our day of guilt and humiliation. Let it not become a day of unavailing regret, but let it be a day of availing contriteness and redeeming penitence.

It is not the action of God, but the inaction of man that is responsible. I see in this disaster not the deed of God, but the greed of man. For law is divine, and this disaster was brought about by lawlessness and inhumanity. Certain calamities man can do no more than vainly deplore,—such calamities as the San Francisco earthquake and the destruction by volcano of Martinique. But this was not an inevitable disaster which man could neither foresee nor control. We might have foreseen it, and some of us did; we might have controlled it, but we chose not to do so. The things that are inevitable we can do no more than vainly regret, but the things that are avoidable we can effectively forestall and prevent. Alas that we must be as little children and require this dramatic presentation of the fateful possibilities which inhere in many phases of the industrial order before seeing things as they are, and moving for their redress!

Must America forever be a place in which the mistaken experiments of the past are to be repeated upon a vaster scale? Is the word of the American poet again to be true:

“The scene how new, the tale how old,
Ere yet the ashes have grown cold.”

We would not yield to wild and unbridled wrath, but let this meeting find voice in such noble anger as shall

*The above address was given by Dr. Wise at a Citizen's Meeting at the Metropolitan Opera House, Sunday afternoon, April 22d, 1911, to consider the Washington Square fire disaster. Owing to the unavoidable delay in the publication of this number, it is possible to include this address in this issue of the FREE SYNAGOGUE PULPIT.

translate itself into high and resolute and ceaseless determination to safeguard, as far as human intelligence and human foresight and human justice can safeguard, the lives of the toilers of the nation. For these were toilers who perished, not in their leisure, nor at their voluntary pleasure, but at their work,—in a sense at their involuntary toil, for most workers, who will not toil in unsafe factories, are doomed to enter the ranks of unemployment with all the misery and disaster which it entails.

It is not a question of enforcement of law nor of inadequacy of law. We have the wrong kind of laws and the wrong kind of enforcement,—laws which are no laws, and enforcement which is no enforcement. Before insisting upon inspection and enforcement, let us lift up the industrial standards so as to make conditions worth inspecting, and, if inspected, certain to afford security to the workers. Instead of unanimity in the shirking of responsibility, we demand that departments shall co-operate in planning ahead and working for the future, with some measure of prevision and wisdom. And when we go before the Legislature of the State, and demand increased appropriations in order to ensure the possibility of a sufficient number of inspectors, we will not forever be put off with the answer,—We have no money. It is true we have no money for the necessary things of inspection and enforcement of laws which safeguard the lives of the workers,—so much of our money is wasted and squandered and stolen.

This meeting is not summoned in order to appeal for charity on behalf of the families of the slain. What is needed is the redress of justice and the remedy of prevention. The families of the victims ought to be beyond the reach of the need of charity. Having denied them the justice of physical security, we ought at least be willing to give their survivors the justice of economic redress.

They need justice, not charity. It is we who need charity, for dare we face inexorable justice?

Even if the disaster which we mourn had not happened, there would be need of such a meeting as this of the citizens of the State of New York, in order to consider the question of protecting workers at their toil and ensuring compensation for industrial injury and accident. It is we who must act. It is not that we are against the courts. The summons to action comes to us from the courts, for the recent decision of the Court of Appeals invokes, as it were, a referendum to the people on the question of liability and compensation in industry. The court is baffled in the matter of methods of protecting the lives of men and of assuring them or their families compensation for loss of life or limb. But we are clear as to our purpose. We know that we cannot and should not take away property without due process of law. Neither may we take away life with or without due process of law. Alas, for another one of a multitude of proofs that we regard property as sacred, and are ready to suffer a violation of the rights of life as if these were not sacred but violable, and violable with impunity.

This consuming fire will have been nothing more than a flash in the pan if other evils are suffered to go unchecked and uncorrected,—evils not less terrible because less swift and less sudden. It is just as necessary to protect women workers from the industrial and occupational diseases as it is to protect them from industrial accidents. We need to provide not only for security from accidents but security from the incidents of the industrial regime. I would have women workers safeguarded in every way,—safeguarded from the economically, physically, morally and spiritually disastrous consequences of over-work and under-pay and under-nourishment and insanitary housing, which

factory managers, and unless such willing, constant, complete co-operation be accorded us, we shall not wait for another calamity before pointing the finger of guilt and shame and crying out,—Thou art the man.

The lesson of the hour is that while property is good, life is better, that while possessions are valuable, life is priceless. The meaning of the hour is that the life of the lowliest worker in the nation is sacred and inviolable, and, if that sacred human right be violated, we shall stand adjudged and condemned before the tribunal of God and of history.

Because life is sacred, we realize today the indivisible oneness of human welfare. The women and men will have died in vain unless we today highly resolve,—My brother's wrong is my own. I am not merely the keeper of my brother and my sister. I must be the safeguarding, justice-dealing brother to all men and women in God's world.

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